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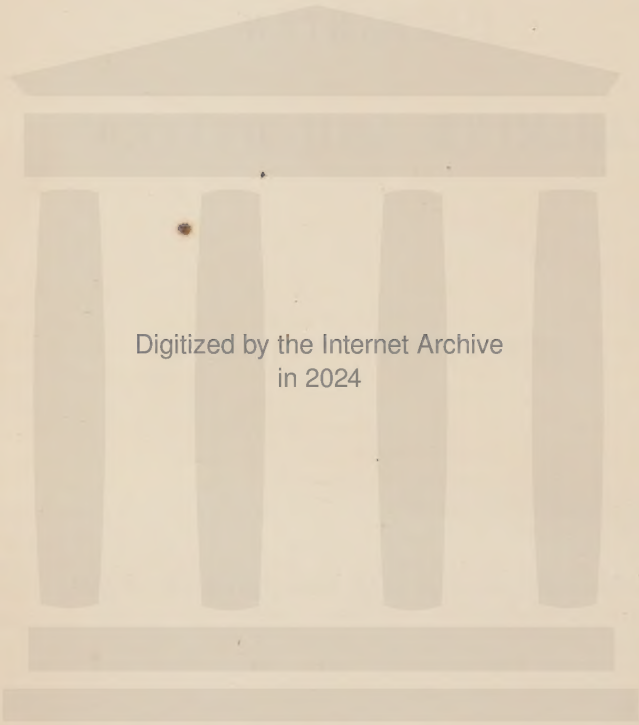
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THE

CHRISTIAN REFORMER.

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ULFILAS, THE FIRST TRANSLATOR OF THE SCRIPTURES INTO A MODERN LANGUAGE.*

At the time when public attention has been strongly called to the amendment of our Common Translation of the Bible, some interest may be felt in the life and labours of the man who gave to the progenitors of the German nation their first version of the Scriptures, and to Europe the first example of an attempt to substitute a known for an unknown tongue as a medium for the communication of revealed truth. The undertaking throws a lustre round the name of the man with whom it originated. If Gawaine Douglas had reason to be

> "More pleased that in a barbarous age
> He gave rude Scotland Virgil's page,
> Than that beneath his sway he held
> The bishopric of fair Dunkeld,"

honour surely is due to him who gave to a people much more barbarous two gifts of infinitely greater value, a vernacular version of the word of God, and at the same time the use of an alphabet.

The origin of the Gothic nation, which performed such an important part in the destruction of the old and the constitution of the new political system of Europe, is somewhat obscure. It seems most probable that they are the same with the Gothones of Tacitus, dwelling on the Baltic, though history gives us no information as to the events in consequence of which, in the commencement of the third century, they appear in great force on the shores of the Euxine. It is sufficient for our present purpose to take them up in the year A.D. 258, when in the distracted times of Valerian and Gallienus they ravaged Cappadocia and Galatia, and carried off thence a number of Christians, among whom were several of the clergy, who exerted themselves zealously and successfully for the propagation of the Christian faith. They healed diseases and cast out demons in the name of Christ, and by these acts of beneficence and a holy life they gained many converts. Among the Christians thus carried off were the ancestors of our Ulfilas, who are said to have lived near the foot of the Cappadocian mountain Parnassus. Arianism was

* Ulfilas. Die heiligen Schriften, alten und neuen Bundes in Gothischer Sprache. Von H. F. Massmann. Stuttgart. 1857.
Ueber das Leben und die Lehre des Ulfila. Von Georg Waitz. Hanover. 1840.

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not yet in existence, having its origin in the fourth century; nor is it known from what cause it spread so widely and so soon after its birth among the Gothic tribes. It is certain, however, that not only the Visigoths, but also their kinsmen the Vandals and Langobardi, held firmly to this form of Christian belief. Was it the love of independence, so characteristic of their descendants of German, Saxon and Scandinavian blood, which inclined them to take the side of heresy against orthodoxy?

The family of Ulfilas had been settled for sixty years among the Goths when he was born in the year A.D. 318. His name is evidently Gothic, and therefore it is natural to suppose that they had in the mean time intermarried with the Goths and were ranked with that nation. But it is probable that the knowledge of Greek letters and civilization which the captives had brought with them had not perished, and thus Ulfilas, by his double consanguinity, became a fit instrument in the hands of Providence for the work which he accomplished. Of his life till he reached the age of thirty little is known. The Goths were established on the borders of the Greek empire, and had frequent relations, sometimes friendly, sometimes hostile, with Constantinople during the reign of Constantine and Constantius. It appears to have been in A.D. 348, when Constantius occupied the Byzantine throne, that Ulfilas visited Constantinople as an ambassador from his nation. He had hitherto been simply a reader in the church, but on this occasion he was ordained a bishop. Philostorgius, whose work has been abridged by Photius,* says that Eusebius was one of those by whom he was ordained; but as Eusebius died in 342, there must be a chronological error in the date of his consecration, or in the statement that Eusebius took a part in it. One thing is certain, that it was at the hands of Arian bishops that he received his episcopate. The historian Sozomen (VI. 37) represents the Goths as not having been originally or wholly Arians when converted to Christianity; but attributes their adherence as a nation to this heresy to the circumstance that, subsequently to his being made a bishop, Ulfilas went on an embassy to Constantinople, and because the Arian prelates, who were in favour at the court, promised to forward his suit, "*or because he really thought they had juster views concerning God,*" he joined the Arians and cut off the whole nation from the Catholic Church. Theodoret (IV. 37) gives a still more unfavourable account,—that the Goths "having received of old rays of divine knowledge and been nourished in apostolic doctrine," rejected the proposal of Valens, when he gave them a settlement on the south side of the Danube, to embrace Arianism; but that Ulfilas, their bishop, was partly persuaded, partly bribed by Eudoxius (an eminent person among the Arians) to bring over

* See the Epitome of Philostorgius in Valesius' edition of the Ecclesiastical Historians, Vol. II.

the Goths to the imperial faith. He adds that Ulfilas accomplished this by representing to them, that there was no real difference between the Arian and the Catholic doctrine, and that the quarrel had its origin in ambition. The Goths, therefore, he says, call the Father greater than the Son, but do not endure to call the Son a creature. The *odium theologicum* is so palpable in the insinuation that Ulfilas was bribed, that we need not concern ourselves with it. That he treated the whole dispute as a *logomachy*, and advised his Goths not to trouble their heads about the matter, and that the Goths, thankful for the refuge given them by Valens in Mysia, were ready to declare themselves of the Arian party, is credible enough. The general settlement of the nation on the right bank of the Danube, however, did not take place till A.D. 375, when the invasion of the Huns compelled them to leave their settlements on the left bank; and as Ulfilas died in A.D. 388, it is evident that Arianism among the Goths must have had a much earlier origin. Ulfilas and a part of the nation appear to have established themselves on the south side of the Danube in A.D. 355; Nicopolis, near the foot of Mount Hæmus, was the place of his residence. We have means of knowing what were the theological opinions of Ulfilas himself. Waitz, the author of the Dissertation of which we have given the title, has published a fragment of a MS., preserved in the Royal (National-Imperial?) Library at Paris, containing the remarks of a Bishop Maximinus on the speeches of other bishops at the Council of Aquileia held in A.D. 381. The object of the commentator is to controvert what was said by the Catholic bishops in that Council, and to confirm what was said by the Arians, especially by Palladius, bishop of Ratiara on the Danube, not far from Widdin, the region which, along with Mysia, where Ulfilas lived and taught, was now the chief home of Arianism. These remarks embody an extract from a letter of Auxentius, the Arian bishop of Silistria, in which he gives an account, unfortunately an imperfect one, of the life, teaching and creed of Ulfilas, and of a mission which he undertook to Constantinople, apparently in the hope of inducing the Emperor Theodosius to call a council, in which the Arians, if their doctrine were not declared orthodox, might at least obtain toleration. The mission was unsuccessful; Arianism was condemned, and Ulfilas probably died at Constantinople, at the age of 70, in the year 388. The letter of Auxentius contains an extract from his will, or confession of faith, which we give in the original Latin. Ulfilas, we are told, was master of the three languages, Gothic, Greek and Latin; and Latin was the legal and *documentary* language of the East as well as the West.

"Ego Ulfila, episcopus et confessor, semper sic credidi et in hac fide sola et vera testamentum facio ad Dominum meum. Credo unum esse Deum Patrem, solum ingenitum et invisivilem;

et in unigenitum filium ejus dominum et Deum nostrum, opificem et factorem universæ creaturæ, non habentem similem suum—ideo unus est omnium Deus qui et de nostris [?] est Deus—et unum spiritum sanctum, virtutem inluminantem et sanctificantem—ut ait Christus propter correctionem ad apostolos suos.

"Ecce ego mitto promissum patris mei in vobis, vos autem sedete in civitatem Hierusalem quoadusque induamini virtutem ab alto;" item, "Et accipietis virtutem supervenientem in vos sancto spiritu .... nec Deum nec Dominum sed ministrum Christi .... nec .... [sed] subditum et obœdientem in omnibus filio, et filium subditum et obœdientem in omnibus Deo patri." Here the MS. becomes illegible, and we are not informed by Ulfilas what were his opinions respecting the person of Christ. This deficiency is supplied by Auxentius, from whom it appears that he held "that there is only one unborn *(ingenitus)* God, who, not in order to divide his own Deity, but to shew forth his power and goodness, created the only born *(unigenitum)* Son, the second God, who has a higher God over him, God the Father. The whole creation is created by the Son; the Son himself created by the Father. Christ is neither equal nor similar to the Father; they are separate persons and have different wills (differentes adfectus). The Holy Spirit has not the title of God; he is created by the Father through the Son in the third degree, subordinate and obedient to the Father like the Son." "And as there is only one God, so there is only one church, one true communion of Christians; all the rest, Manichæans, Sabellians, Marcionists and Montanists, Novatians and Donatists, Photinians and Macedonians, Homousians and Homoiousians, are conventicles of Satan." Arianism alone, therefore, was true orthodoxy.

Whatever may be thought of his opinions, Ulfilas shewed at least his own confidence in them by enabling the Gothic nation to judge for themselves whether they were scriptural or not. All accounts agree in representing him as the means of introducing them to the knowledge of the Scriptures in their native tongue. And this involved another very important service—furnishing them with an alphabet. In ascribing to him this latter invention, friends and enemies, the Arian Philostorgius and the orthodox Socrates, agree. We are not to understand this as if he had devised a new set of characters for the use of his countrymen; it is evident from the comparison of the Mœso-gothic with the Greek and Latin alphabets that he had adapted the characters of the latter to his native language. And this could be done, from the radical affinity of the three languages which modern philology has brought to light, without the difficulty which is experienced in expressing the sounds of oriental languages in Greek or Roman letters. His alphabet is not that which, under the name of Runic, was possessed by the Gothic tribes on the Baltic, and the origin of which is still a mystery,

although four of the characters in his alphabet are identical with the Runic. It is the opinion of William Grimm, indeed, that the Goths had an alphabet before Ulfilas, though of a less perfect kind. Of this no sufficient proof has been produced, and if it were so, it would not be a fair ground for depriving Ulfilas of the glory which the ancient writers attribute to him. Mankind justly give the credit of a great invention to him who brings it to practical perfection, and gives it a permanent place among the instruments of civilization. And this it is clear that Ulfilas did for the Goths.

By the events of the fifth century the Goths were widely scattered over Europe. The Visigoths, after a short occupation of Italy, established themselves in the south of Gaul and in Spain, being finally dispossessed of the former by the Franks, and the latter by the Saracens. The Ostrogoths, towards the end of the century, established under Theodoric a short-lived monarchy in northern and central Italy. Wherever they went they carried with them, it is probable, not only the alphabet which they owed to Ulfilas, but his version of the Scriptures, as we know they did the Arian doctrine. Salvian, the bishop of Marseilles, in his Treatise de Gubernatione Dei (vii. 9—13) describes them as going to battle, carrying before them "librum divinæ legis, sacri voluminis scripta." In the midst of their sanguinary ravages they shewed themselves a "God-fearing people." Orosius, while he mourns over these ravages and considers them as a scourge of God, acknowledges that Rome suffered less from the Goths than it had done from Marius and Sylla, from Cæsar and Pompey, or Gaul and Spain from the conquest of the Romans.* Their morals, too, were purer in many respects than those of the people whom they conquered.

With the disappearance of the Gothic monarchies in Italy, France and Spain, we lose all trace of the version of Ulfilas, till, in the latter half of the sixteenth century, a MS. written on vellum, in silver letters with golden initials, was discovered in the Abbey of Werden, in Westphalia, containing portions of the four Gospels in a character and language which were evidently Gothic.† Such MSS. were among the luxuries of amateurs. "Habeant," says Jerome, quoted by Massmann, "qui volunt libros vel in membranis purpureis auro argentoque descriptos, dummodo mihi meisque permittant non tam pulcros quam emendatos codices habere." How this Codex Argenteus found its way to this place must be matter of conjecture; but as Westphalia was occupied by the Franks, one branch of whom bore the name of Westfali, it was probably part of the spoil made by a Frankish king in his wars upon the Goths. It is related by

* See the quotations in Massmann, Einleitung, p. xlv.

† This is now so generally admitted, that it would be useless to enter into the question, which Michaelis (Vol. II. p. 137) discusses at great length, whether the language is Gothic or Frankish.

Gregory of Tours* that Childebert, after such an expedition brought back, among other treasures, ". . . Evangeliorum capsas" of pure gold, adorned with precious stones, and gave them to various churches and basilicæ.† A MS. so precious as the Codex Argenteus may well have been kept in a golden case, and have been preserved when the gold went to the melting-pot. From Werden it was conveyed to Prague, where it fell into the hands of the Swedes when the city was stormed by Konigsmark in 1648, and was deposited in the library of Upsala. Soon after it is found in Holland in the possession of Isaac Vossius, who had spent much time at the court of Queen Christina. As this learned man does not bear the best reputation, and book-stealing has always been held a venial crime among collectors, he is suspected of having abstracted it from Upsala. It is hardly credible, however, that he would have ventured on a theft so sure to be speedily detected, and therefore the probability is that it had been presented to him by the Queen, whom he had taught Greek, and with whom he was a great favourite. While it was in the possession of Vossius it attracted the notice of Francis Junius, son of the Junius who, in conjunction with Tremellius, translated the Bible into Latin. He was the uncle of Isaac Vossius, and, having devoted himself to the study of the northern languages, recognized its value, and published an edition of it along with the Gospels in Anglo-Saxon, at Dordrecht, in 1665. The Swedish Chancellor, Count de la Gardie, purchased the Codex from Vossius, and restored it, bound in silver, to Queen Christina. Originally it appears to have consisted of 330 leaves, of which only 177 now remain, though in the middle of the last century there were 187. The ten missing leaves were cut out between 1821 and 1834. It now begins with Matt. v. 15, and ends with John xix. 8, and there are intervening lacunæ.

As the Codex Argenteus contained only the Gospels, doubts were entertained whether the labours of Ulfilas had not been exaggerated, when he was said by Philostorgius and Isidore to have translated the entire Scriptures. These doubts have since been in some measure removed. The library of Wolfenbüttel, in Brunswick, contains a MS. called the Codex Carolinus, in which the Origines of Isidore, of Seville, had been written over the version of Ulfilas in Gothic characters, accompanied by a Latin version in parallel columns. The vellum leaves, except four, had been used to cover other books before Knittel discovered their value. What remained and was decipherable contained only a few portions of the Epistle to the Romans. The Latin version appears to have been made in Italy in the

* See Michaelis, p. 146.

† Childebert's booty was obtained from the capture of Narbonne (A.D. 636), which would lead to the supposition of a Visigothic origin for the Codex Argenteus. On the other hand, the discovery of fragments of this version in Milan, Bobbio and other parts of Italy, seems to point to the Ostrogoths.

sixth century, where such a combination of two languages must have been common; a note at the end of the Brixen MS. of the Bible warning the reader "ne videatur aliud in Græca, aliud in Latina vel Gothica designata, esse conscripta."* Of course it is possible that the whole of the work may not have proceeded from Ulfilas, and the words of Walafrid Strabo point to different translators; "studiosi illius gentis divinos libros in suæ locutionis proprietatem transtulerunt." He wrote, however, in the ninth century, and unless some marked difference of style could be detected between the Evangelists and the other parts, it would be premature to call in question the evidence of contemporaries.

Additional portions of the Gothic version have since come to light. In 1817, the indefatigable Mai discovered at Milan, in palimpsest MSS. which had been brought from the monastery of Bobbio on the Trebia, nearly the whole of the Pauline Epistles, including the Epistle to the Romans. And as the portions of the Wolfenbüttel MS. agree with the text of this more recent discovery, the inference is that they belong to one and the same version. Other MSS. at Milan contain fragments of the Old Testament, which, scanty as they are, warrant the belief that all the canonical books, if not the Apocrypha, had been translated into Gothic. All these fragments, along with the Codex Argenteus, are included by Massmann in his edition; and he has added portions of a work in the Gothic language, derived from MSS. at Milan and Rome, which he calls *Skeireins*, or commentary, which appears to be a running commentary on the Gospel of John, designed in part to refute, from this Gospel, Sabellius, Marcellus and others, who held what the pure Arians considered heretical doctrines.† And as the passages commented upon correspond with the text of the Codex Argenteus, the presumption seems warranted that all the fragments hitherto discovered are parts of the "Authorized Version" of the Gothic nation, carried by them from the banks of the Danube wherever they were dispersed in their migration. No portion of the Catholic Epistles, the Epistle to the Hebrews or the Apocalypse, has yet been discovered. It would be unsafe, however, to draw any inference from this negative fact. Further discoveries may be in store for other Knittels and Mais. A remnant of the Gothic nation existed

* Massmann, p. lvii, quoting Blanchini Evang. Quadr., p. 1.

† I quote from Massmann's translation the commentary on John v. 22, "The Father judgeth no man," &c.: "If therefore the Father and the Son were, as Sabellius argues, one and the same, signified by different names, how could the same person judge and not judge, for a change of names only does not make a change of persons; but the work is a proof that no one else judges, but that the Father has given the power of judgment to the Son, that all should honour the Son as they honour the Father. Let us, therefore, with such a plain declaration, give honour to the unborn God; and to the only born Son, who is God, not equal but similar honour. The Saviour himself, praying to the Father for his disciples, says, 'that Thou mayest love them as Thou lovest me;' not equal love but similar."

in the Crimea as late as the middle of the sixteenth century. Busbequius saw at Constantinople two delegates from them to the Sultan, and took down many of their words, which are evidently Gothic. They have disappeared since the Crimea became Russian; but an Armenian traveller in 1830 speaks of Gothic monuments and inscriptions still extant there, and it is not beyond hope that a portion of the Bible may have been carried thence to Russia.

A comparison of the recovered version of Ulfilas with the Greek, which Massmann has conveniently printed on the opposite page, fully confirms the opinion that he translated from the Greek and not from the Latin, a question once eagerly debated. Mill, finding that Ulfilas had many readings in common with the Codex Bezæ, which was then reputed to *Latinize*, was inclined to think that the Gothic version had been influenced by the Latin. There was indeed no reason why Ulfilas, who was master of the Latin as well as the Greek, should not have consulted Latin MSS., or why the Greek MSS. which he used should not have more or less affinity with the Latin; but that he translated from the Greek, not from the Latin, will, I think, be the conclusion of every one who compares his version with the Greek. It thus becomes a valuable aid to the critic towards ascertaining the reading of the Greek MSS. in the fourth century. His fidelity as a translator is unimpeachable. Michaelis observed that the passage in which an Arian translator would be most likely to betray his bias, Rom. ix. 5, did not occur in the fragment of the Epistle published by Knittel. It has since been found, and reads, "*saei ist ufar allaim guth thiuthiths in aivam*," "who is over all God blessed for ever." In 1 Tim. iii. 16, the rendering is, "*Jah unsahtaba* mikils ist gagudeins runa, saei gabairhtiths warth in leika*," &c., "And unquestionably great is godliness's mystery, which (or who) was brought to light in the flesh." This is the reading accepted by all recent critics, instead of "God was manifested in the flesh."

It is said by Philostorgius that Ulfilas translated the whole of the Bible except the books of Kings, which contained the wars of the Jewish people, and which he feared would stimulate the propensities of the Gothic nation, already too prone to war. To have been consistent, he should have also withheld from them the book of Joshua, which was quite as likely to be dangerous. Hitherto nothing has been found of the historical books subsequent to the Pentateuch except a fragment of Ezra and a considerable portion of Nehemiah.

* The root is *saka*, a cause, and specifically a legal cause. Hence our old legal phrase "sac and soke" for the right of holding courts. *Runa* is the word by which Ulfilas always translates μυστήριον. This may throw light on the primary use of Runes, as a secret character. The root of *gabairhtiths* is *baihrt*, bright, whence the termination *bert* in so many Saxon names: Ethelbert (noble bright), Hildebert (hero bright), &c.

While Ulfilas was giving to his nation a treasure above all price in a translation of the Holy Scriptures, he was also bequeathing a most valuable legacy to all the branches of the Gothic family, in this record of their primitive language. Without it, it would have been impossible for Jakob Grimm to have traced the analogies which connect the various dialects which sprung from it, and demonstrated the original identity of the Scandinavian, Saxon, Anglo-saxon, and Teutonic in its various branches. And as we too have inherited a large portion of the word-treasure which the version of Ulfilas contains, we may devote a few lines to a comparison of his rendering with our modern English, using the German as a bridge over chasms that might be otherwise impassable. We take at random Mark xi. 28, foll.:

Goth. *Jah kuethun du imma In hvamma*
Eng. And quoth they to him in what (who, whom)
valdufnje thata
authority (Germ. *walt, gewalt;* A. Sax. *bretwalda)* that
taujis jah hvas thus thata valdufni atgaf ei
dost thou? and who thee that authority to-gave that
thata taujis.
that thou dost?

V. 29. *Ith Jesus andhafjands kuath du im Fraihna*
But Jesus answering quoth to them Ask (Germ. *frage)*
jah ik ainis vaurdis jah andhafjeth mis jah
also I one (ane) word and answer ye to me and
kuitha izvis in hvamma valdufnje thata tauja.
I will quoth to you in what authority that I do.

V. 30. *Daupeins Johannis uzuh*
Dipping (Germ. *taufen)* of John out of *(aus* Germ.)
himina vas thau uzuh mannam?
heaven *(himmel)* was or out of men?

The comparison will shew not only how close is the affinity between our mother tongue and that which was spoken by the converts of Ulfilas and the soldiers of Alaric, but also how much our language, and in a less degree the German, has been mutilated and impoverished by the loss of inflexions. The order of the words is so closely conformed to that of the Greek, as to prove that Ulfilas translated from the Greek and not from the Latin.

He is said to have been the author of many theological treatises which have perished; probably with no injury to his reputation, judging from the specimens which we have of the theology of that age. What time has spared is a sufficient title to our grateful remembrance.

K.

SCRIPTURAL HYMNS. By SIR JOHN BOWRING.

No. VII.

"Sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof" (Matt. vi. 34).

Await not with dismay
To-morrow's threatening things;
Sufficient to the day
The evil that it brings.

O take no anxious thought
If clouds of gloom prevail;
The past its blessings brought,
The future shall not fail.

Who feeds the fluttering birds,
Who paints the lily's cheeks,
In gracious smiles and words
To listening children speaks.

Sufficient to the day
The evil that it brings;
To-morrow's brighter ray
Has healing on its wings.

In God's paternal care
Find safety, comfort, rest;
Its bounties boundless are,
Its visitations blest.

No. VIII.

"Now is Christ risen from the dead, and become the first fruits of them that slept" (1 Cor. xv. 20).

Christ is risen from the dead—he is risen;
First fruit of the sleeping is he;
He rose from death's desolate prison,
He hath made all his followers free!
He is risen—is risen! Our voices
To hail the great triumph unite;
While earth from its centre rejoices,
And heaven re-echoes delight.

He is risen—is risen! The tiding
From planet to planet afar
On the wings of the lightning is riding;
Star heralds the vict'ry to star.
Generation salutes generation
With the mighty, the magical word;
All space and all time shout "Salvation!"
In the name of the conquering Lord.

THE STATE OF RELIGIOUS PARTIES AND OF UNITARIANISM.

The state of religion in the United Kingdom at the present time can scarcely fail to excite great alarm and an apprehension of evil to come in every serious, religious and liberal mind. In Ireland, the healing measure of Catholic Emancipation (unhappily too long deferred) has, in a great degree, failed in producing that conciliation between Catholics and Protestants which its advocates had anticipated. Much as the general condition of that country has been improved, small progress appears to have been made in the cause of Christian charity, and the opposing parties (particularly the Romanists) have abated but little of their bigotry and virulence. In Scotland, the disputes between the Established and the Free Church are going on in no gentle spirit; and late events have shewn the narrowness and intolerance of the Scotch Church. The Church of England, which from its very large property, the exalted station of its Archbishops and Bishops, its connexion with the aristocracy, and its containing within its pale a very great majority of the higher and middle classes, exerts a most powerful influence on the general condition of the country, which extends indirectly to those who dissent from it, is harassed by the conflict of two large parties hostile to each other in principle and practice, and both of them far removed from the sentiments of the best educated and most intelligent of her sons. It would be uncandid and unjust in mentioning these two parties in the Church of England to omit saying that both of them are distinguished by active and Christian benevolence. The Evangelical or the Low-Church party, as it is now generally called, has always been energetic both in promulgating its peculiar doctrines and administering to the wants, physical and moral, of those who have needed its assistance; and the High-Church party has pursued a similar course. Both parties, however, are rejected as spiritual guides by a large majority of the thinking and intelligent members of the Church. Most of the clergy belong to one or other of these parties, or at least have a leaning towards them. Not a few, however, of the more intelligent clergymen of the Church of England are averse to both. Of them, the far larger part meddle but little with doctrines, but for the most part confine their sermons to that common Christianity which belongs to all parties. What that is we shall consider presently. A few of the middle class of the clergy (which has been absurdly called Broad Church) have adopted an extraordinary course by sending into the world various publications, in which, adopting the common language of what is called orthodoxy, and professing to believe the Thirty-nine Articles, they have explained the orthodox doctrine by forced and hitherto unheard-of interpretation of the terms in which they are expressed; and while in words they profess to be orthodox, it is

perfectly clear to every intelligent reader that these are so in name only. The Independents and the Baptists in general agree in doctrine with the Low-Church party, although many among the Independents appear to be making rapid advances towards what the Unitarians consider more just and scriptural views of religion. The Quakers appear to be much diminished in numbers, and indeed to be hastening to dissolution, although their leading principle (as we shall presently endeavour to shew) seems to be reviving in a quarter where it was little to be expected.

It is now time to consider how the state of religion, which has been slightly sketched, affects the Unitarians; whether it affords them opportunities of advancing those views which they believe to be derived from a sound and rational interpretation of the Scriptures, and what their conduct has been and ought to be in the circumstances in which they are placed. The High-Church party of the Church of England is made up of two sections—the old High-Church and the new, which is often designated by the terms Anglican, Puseyite and Tractarian. These last are distinguished by their introduction of many innovations in the ordinary service of the Church, all approaching more or less to the rites and ceremonies of the Roman Church. These are often called Romanizing tendencies. Several clergymen of this party have gone over to the Church of Rome, and not a few think that in consistency the rest ought to follow their example. Whether, however, Puseyism, or whatever it ought to be called, shall prove a transition state to Romanism, or whether it be destined to remain a branch of the Established Church, is a matter which but little concerns the view we have to take of the subject. The principle of Romanism and of the High party in the Established Church is precisely the same—that is, to set up priestly power, to give to the clergy spiritual authority, to make them regulators of the faith of the laity, to be, in short, what St. Peter declares they ought not to be, "lords over God's heritage." The peculiar doctrines of the Low-Church party and of what is often called the orthodox Dissenters, are mainly founded on what Unitarians believe to be a most erroneous interpretation of the Epistles of St. Paul, whose writings seem to have in a great measure superseded the other parts of the New Testament. Now we think that a great majority of the best educated and most intelligent members of the Church of England, and a considerable number of the so-called orthodox Dissenters, neither agree in the doctrine of the Low-Church nor admit the priestly claims of the High-Church party. What then are the religious opinions of these individuals? We have already said—the common Christianity of all Christians. They believe that the Almighty sent his Son Jesus Christ into the world to save sinners, and to give them assurance of future blessedness in the world to come by faith in him and obedience to God's holy will. There is no

doubt much diversity of opinion among this large class of persons on particular religious dogmas, and perhaps few, if any, have travelled so far as Unitarianism; but they may all be considered on the way to it, because Unitarianism rejects all which they reject, and is the only consistent scheme of religion which those who give up what are commonly called the orthodox doctrines can embrace. All middle schemes have faded away. We are not aware that any one now professes Arianism, in the proper meaning of the word; and as to what is sometimes improperly called Low Arianism—merely a belief in the pre-existence of Christ—it is only one phase of Unitarianism. But it may be fairly asked what proof we have to give that the state of religious opinion in the classes above referred to is what has been stated. We must confess that we have no distinct proof; but our conclusion is drawn from long and varied observation of the writings and conversation of the persons in question, which indirect mode of getting at people's real sentiments is often more satisfactory than direct assertions. Most persons are very slow in giving up the language in which they have been accustomed to express their religious opinions, although their sentiments have undergone considerable and important changes. The larger part, too, of the members of the Established Church are attached to it as a part of the institutions of the country, and believe, though they disapprove of much in it, that, on the whole, it is productive of great good; and being therefore unwilling to leave it, they cling as long as they can to its accustomed forms, and are unwilling to forego the use of its language. This will be easily understood by very many reflecting Unitarians, who think that, notwithstanding the very great doctrinal errors of the Established Church, its destruction would lead to evils far greater than those which now exist in the religious world. Judging by present appearances, the Unitarians have far more to hope from the liberal members of the Established Church than from any class of Dissenters.

Let us now turn our attention to the state of things in the Unitarian body, and consider whether any impediments exist to their advancing and extending in the world those views of Christianity which they believe to be consonant with reason and scripture, and for the promotion of which the existing state of religious opinions has appeared to us so favourable. It cannot be denied that much remained to be done within the body itself in the way of correcting errors, and giving greater spirituality to Unitarianism. Few candid persons among us will now deny that the charge formerly brought against Unitarianism of being "the frozen zone of Christianity," was not wholly without foundation. That the charge was exaggerated, and that much which is truly pious and spiritual is to be found in the writings of the older Unitarians, must be admitted; but that, for the most part,

they were deficient in depth of feeling and elevation of sentiment, in the earnestness which speaks to the heart and the tenderness which engages the affections, a candid estimate of their writings will, we think, compel most of those who read them to admit. To purify, to elevate and to spiritualize Unitarianism, and by so doing to bring it nearer to the precepts and the example of the Saviour and his apostles, is a work worthy of the strongest heads and the most feeling hearts to be found among its professors. But that the differences between Unitarianism and what is called Orthodoxy should ever have been deemed otherwise than of the highest importance, is what could hardly have been anticipated so late as twenty years ago. Yet, judging from the writings of many Unitarians, the doctrinal differences between the Unitarians and the orthodox seem to be considered of far less importance than they were deemed to be by our predecessors. The word Unitarian has been repeatedly objected to as a designation of a section of the Christian church, although no other term has been suggested to distinguish those who, rejecting the doctrine of the Trinity, address their prayers to the Creator only as their God and Father; and deny that there is any scriptural authority for the doctrines of original sin, the death of Christ being a satisfaction to Divine justice, and the imputation of the righteousness of Christ to sinners. Surely these are dogmas which admit of no compromise. One or the other side must be taken by all thinking and faithful men; and a name is required to mark the difference. No denomination has yet been suggested so well fitted to express these differences of religious doctrine as Unitarianism.

But according to the tenor of the writings of many, doctrines of any kind seem to be considered as matters of comparatively inferior importance. Freedom of inquiry, anti-sectarianism, a rejection of creeds, progress and development, are mainly to be considered. These are the idols set up in high places which are to put aside, or at least to treat as inferior matters, such questions as engaged the attention and called forth the energies of the earlier Unitarians; such as whether the Deity has predestinated a large portion of the creatures whom he has made to eternal perdition, or whether he is good unto every man, and his tender mercies are over all his works.

Let us examine these favourite words which are so frequently bandied about among us, and see whether they afford us any ground for weakening our attachment to the doctrines held by the Unitarians, and to lessen, in any degree, our sense of their importance.

As to free inquiry, it does not seem necessary to trouble ourselves much about it in an age when it is fully established. It is no doubt right to recommend to all to make use of the faculties which God has given them on the most important of all subjects,

but nothing more seems to remain to be done. There is nothing in this country to prevent free inquiry being carried on to any extent. Not only are publications denying the truth of the Christian religion sent into the world without any risk of persecution being incurred by their authors, but a few years ago a joint work professedly atheistical was published, and we have never heard that either of the individuals who wrote it have been in any way persecuted or molested on account of this publication. There appears, then, to be nothing in the existing state of things in this country to cause reasonable alarm for the cause of free inquiry. We cannot, however, help asking the question, Is this really an age of free inquiry? and truth compels us to say that if by free inquiry is to be understood a careful collection of facts and an impartial weighing of arguments, this is not an age of free inquiry. The character of most of the religious speculations of the times seems to us to be to select some favourite notion, sentiment or feeling, and to form opinions in accordance with the pre-conceived feeling or sentiment. We cannot doubt that the 18th century, much decried as it is by writers of a certain class, had far more of free inquiry in religion than the 19th.

The next exhortation which we have the benefit of receiving from the writers in question is not to be sectarian. Anti-sectarianism seems to be far more important than the adhering to any doctrine. Here the ambiguity of language must be considered. To be sectarian in one sense is always blameable; to be so in another is the necessary result of the position in which an honest man finds himself. If by sectarianism we are to understand laying an undue stress on those matters in which we differ with other classes of Christians, and, still worse, thinking uncharitably of others and behaving unjustly or unkindly to them on account of a difference of opinion, it deserves to be severely condemned; but if by sectarianism we are to understand adhering to the class of religionists with whom we are most nearly agreed, it is precisely what every conscientious man feels himself bound to do, and not to do which would render him liable to just reproach.

To have a creed, it seems, is severely to be blamed. Yet what is a creed but the summary of what a man believes? If any one should, from dislike to the word creed, rather call this summary belief, we have no objection; but by whatever name it may be called, no man who has any religion at all can be without it. No form of nonsense can be more free from any mixture of common sense than talking of a religion which has no belief. Creeds are in themselves innocent things, and only become noxious when we attempt to force them on others.

And now we come to the favourite words Development and Progress; both, like the word Sectarianism, may be explained in a good or an evil sense. By development, we presume is under-

stood the unfolding of the powers of the human mind and of the revealed will of God; and by progress, the formation of opinions which is the result of this development. No man, we trust, will be found so absurd and so arrogant as to pretend to limit the operations of the human mind, and to say, "Thus far thou shalt go and no further." When we regard the wonderful discoveries and inventions of our own days, we may well think it probable that future ages will be benefited by inventions and discoveries of which we have not the faintest anticipation. That the Holy Scriptures contain stores of religious wisdom which have never yet been duly appreciated or fully understood,—and that we cannot employ our time better than in endeavouring to attain a fuller knowledge of the Bible, particularly of the New Testament, and to realize more and more spiritually and fervently its divine spirit,—all must admit. We fear, however, that the prevailing sentiment of not a few among us is, that Christianity as taught by Christ and his apostles is incomplete; and that it is to be carried further, and enlarged by the powers of the human mind and conscience, or what we believe (for we are not skilled in the hazy language of the day applied to these subjects) is called moral consciousness. We may be mistaken in this matter; and, if so, shall be grateful to any one who will correct our error. If, however, any one should be found who thinks himself capable of giving us an improved Christianity, we cannot help regarding him as having fallen into a most dangerous error. To us, Jesus Christ is "the same yesterday, to-day and for ever;" and we cannot forget the denunciation of St. Paul against those who should presume to add anything to the gospel which he taught.

The progress of which so much has been said is to our minds in some degree a misnomer, and the term regress is more properly applicable to certain recent speculations. These have tended not to strengthen, but to weaken, the cause of Christianity by taking away some of its important bulwarks. This remark particularly applies to what has been written on the subject of the miracles recorded in the New Testament. These have hitherto been regarded as most important evidences, indeed as the very substance of the historical evidence, of the truth of Christianity. Nobody appears to deny that He who constituted the laws of nature has the power to suspend them; nor does it seem now to be asserted by any Christian that the fact of miracles being worked cannot be proved by human testimony. No satisfactory argument has been adduced to shew that miracles can be wrought by any being but the Almighty. Whenever, then, we are satisfied that a miracle has been *wrought*, or rather *declared*, by a human being, we conclude that God wrought it and authorized man to declare it. From the moment that the question presented itself to the human mind, whether miracles had been wrought in attestation of a divine revelation, it seems

natural to expect that every serious and religious mind would direct its closest attention to the subject, and would not rest satisfied till it had come to a decided conviction as to the truth or falsehood of the assumed miraculous fact. It has been reserved to our own times to leave the question of miracles in doubt, and to form an opinion that the truth of the Christian religion may be established without the aid of the evidence of miracles, and therefore it was immaterial whether or not they were believed; and it is broadly asserted in a letter signed S. S. in the Christian Reformer for September, that "the miracles in the Bible are generally acknowledged to be a cause of difficulty rather than any help to our faith." Miracles no help to our faith! A reference to one single miracle will be a sufficient answer to this strange assertion. Let any reasonable man ask himself whether, if he had been living in Judea in the time of our Saviour,—had heard his discourses and his prediction of his resurrection from the dead,—had afterwards seen him crucified, dead and buried,—and had on the third day seen him risen from the dead,—and had conversed with him, and touched and handled him,—he would not have considered his resurrection as a sufficient and irresistible ground for faith in his divine mission? Such it has always been deemed till our own times; nor are we aware that even now any one has expressly denied it.

We have no hesitation in saying that the rejection of the miraculous part of the gospel narratives ought to draw after it a rejection of the whole history contained in them and in the book of the Acts of the Apostles, and thus to destroy the whole body of historical evidence of the truth of our religion. No one has shewn the possibility of separating the miraculous from the ordinary facts of the gospel history; and there is no plausible ground for thinking that the accounts of the miracles were not written by the same persons who wrote the rest of these narratives. Now as to some at least of these miracles the beholders could not be deceived. *Possibly* in some instances the healing of diseases might be brought about by natural means, and *possibly* the widow's son at Nain might have been merely in a trance and not dead. These suppositions are indeed highly improbable. With respect, however, to many of the recorded miracles, such as the miraculous feeding of many thousands and the resurrection of Jesus, the apostles could not possibly have been deceived. Of this last event, the most important which has occurred in the annals of the human race, we are told by the apostles themselves that they were the appointed witnesses. All Christians—at least an enormous majority—are agreed that two of the Gospels were written by apostles, and the other two by friends of the apostles well acquainted with the facts of which they give an account. If, then, they have asserted that certain miracles, of such a nature as they could not be deceived as to their miraculous character,

had been wrought, when no such events had actually taken place, the inevitable consequence is that they wilfully promulgated falsehoods. But if they did so in some cases, can they possibly be trusted in others? If they stand before the world as liars (we tremble while we write the word) in some things, how can they be trusted in other parts of their narratives? Surely the conclusion of every rational mind must be, let no such men be trusted. The remarks just made apply equally to the book of the Acts of the Apostles, and thus the rejection of the New-Testament history deprives us of all historical evidence of the truth of the Christian religion, except the slight reference to it in the writings of the Latin historians.

But here some of the more advanced thinkers of the new school may turn round upon us and say, "We care not at all for external evidence; we are satisfied with the light within, which teaches us that Christianity is from God; and our desire and our delight is, in the language of the apostle Paul, to put on Christ, to live in his spirit, to regulate our lives by his precepts." Excellent resolutions, and fervently do we wish that God may prosper those who make them. On this part of our subject we feel ourselves on uncertain ground, and are by no means sure that we may not have misunderstood, and thus unintentionally misrepresented, the sentiments of those to whom we are opposed. Gladly should we find this to be the case. This paper will not be written in vain if it shall elicit a distinct statement from some of those who reject or doubt the truth of the Christian miracles, of their views of the historical details of the New Testament. If some (as it seems to us) ground their belief in the truth of the Christian religion solely on internal feeling, impressions, sentiments, consciousness, or by whatever name it may be called, independent of any external historical evidence, this seems in no respect to differ from the new light of the earlier Quakers, and is open to the following objections.

In the first place, how do we know that these internal feelings or impressions are infallibly true? Thousands of the professors of other religions, Mahometans, Hindoos, Buddhists, &c., have all impressions of their own different from ours, and hold them with equal confidence. How are we to satisfy ourselves that the spiritual light which was withheld from Pythagoras, Socrates, Plato and Aristotle, has been given to us? But admitting that we have attained an infallible assurance of the truth of our own views of religion, we have still no possible means of giving proof to others of the soundness of our belief; and, for the great majority of Christians, the historical evidence afforded by the New Testament is the ground of belief. A man may be fully satisfied that he has in his own mind an infallible guide to religious truth, but he can have no means of making another believe that his views are more accurate than those of others who hold different

opinions. If, then, we are to discard the historical evidence, every man must be left to do the best he can for himself in forming his religious opinions without any external aid,—a state of things which the most intrepid thinker would scarcely think desirable. To come to the point to which these observations tend. Such opinions as we have referred to being current among Unitarians, although probably confined to a small number of them, cannot, we think, fail to add greatly to the unpopularity which attaches to their name, and to the misapprehension which very generally exists as to their opinions.

But there is another circumstance strongly tending to prevent the advancement of Unitarianism. Instead of a steady and undeviating profession of attachment to its principles, many of us seem to be ashamed of its name, and to be desirous of changing it, although no other designation has been suggested indicative of the most important differences between us and the so-called orthodox. It is to be feared that we are fast verging to a sort of generalized Christianity, which defines nothing, settles nothing, and appears to regard any one set of opinions to be as good as another. We seem afraid to call ourselves Unitarians, lest at some future period juster views of Christian doctrine should arise. What, then, is this Unitarianism which we fear may become obsolete? We refer here more particularly to the Object of religious worship, for a reason which will shortly appear. The Trinitarian addresses his prayers to God the Father, God the Son, God the Holy Ghost, and the Trinity in Unity. The Unitarian prays to God alone and as the Father, as he is often called in the New Testament. He does not find that the Son of God is ever called God the Son in the New Testament, or that prayers are ever addressed to him as God; nor are there in that same book the words God the Holy Ghost or Trinity. Do the friends of Progress really look to the time when scriptural authority shall be found for these doctrines? and, if not, why are they afraid or ashamed to call themselves Unitarians? We are perfectly satisfied that it is not on account of its unpopularity that they shrink from the use of the name Unitarian.

Unitarianism being distinguished from all the other divisions of the Christian world, it seems in the highest degree desirable that it should stand forth as a distinct church, a section of the church of Christ, which embraces all Christians. Holding these sentiments, it was with great pain that we read the following passage from a letter of Mr. Martineau published in the *Inquirer* and re-published in the October number of the *Christian Reformer:* "To a Unitarian *Society*,—just as to a Reform Society,—I would willingly belong, but of a 'Unitarian Church' I could never be a member." Now if Mr. Martineau could not be a "member," it should seem that, *a fortiori*, he could not be a minister of a "Unitarian church." It is, however, well known

that he has lately become, with his excellent friend and colleague Mr. Tayler, joint minister of the Portland-Street congregation, which was established by the late Mr. Agar as a Unitarian congregation, and which cannot be regarded as an offshoot of the old Presbyterian stock. Are we then to conclude that Portland-Street is no longer a Unitarian church? We have nothing to do with any arrangements which have taken place between Mr. Martineau and his congregation, and we have asked the question above merely because we think the words quoted are not to be interpreted in what appears to be their meaning. Taking them in their ordinary signification, we should conclude that the respected minister of Portland-Street chapel was not precluded from prayers and sermons inconsistent with Unitarianism,—that he might use a Trinitarian prayer or preach a Trinitarian sermon. This we cannot believe to be his meaning; and we should gladly and gratefully receive such an explanation as would shew that Mr. Martineau's words were intended to express something different from what they seem to us to import. We are encouraged to believe that such explanation may be given, because in the early part of the same letter it is admitted that every church must agree in some things which form a bond of union among them.

We cannot but deeply regret the state of things among the Unitarians, believing that infidelity is making rapid advances among the educated classes of the country; that Unitarianism alone affords a chance of stopping its progress; and that the rejection of the miraculous part of the Gospels and indifference to religious doctrines are fitted to do incalculable injury to Unitarianism and to Christianity. L.

Postscript by the Editor of the Christian Reformer.

As the letter of our respected correspondent "L." (to whom the readers of this Magazine have been indebted on more occasions than one for sound and liberal counsel) was written before Mr. Martineau's "Second Letter," designed to explain the first, had come into his hands, we think it just to Mr. Martineau to quote one or two passages which intimate that he is a believer in the doctrine of the Divine Unity, however strongly he dislikes the name "Unitarian," and whatever may be his estimate of Unitarian literature, plans of organization, &c. &c. "I did not dream of 'disparaging' the doctrine of the Divine Unity, in which I myself believe," &c. (p. 22). "I have never expressed disapproval of the *individual* 'fixing his creed.' .... My protest is against *a church* fixing its creed. ..... I know well that to believe a thing true is to believe it immutable; that earnest conviction naturally excludes all suspicion of possible change, and carries in it a confidence of spreading to other minds, and attaining universal recognition. Within the limits of his proper rights, I would have every man surrender himself freely to these impressions, utter them, and act upon them" (p. 27). On the relative importance of the doctrine of the Divine Unity and of some other Christian truths, our views and Mr. Martineau's have, we fear, little in common.

THE ULSTER REVIVAL OF 1859.

FROM the subjoined list of publications,*—though it embraces none but those which have emanated from evangelical sources, and even of them includes but a selection,—it will be seen that a great deal has been printed on the subject of the "Revival movement" which, during the last summer and autumn, went

* 1. Revivals in Ireland: Facts, Documents and Correspondence. By James William Massie, D.D., LL.D., Secretary to the Irish Evangelical Society. London—Snow. Pp. 68, 8vo.

2. History and Prominent Characteristics of the present Revival in Ballymena and its Neighbourhood. By the Rev. S. J. Moore, of Ballymena. Belfast. Pp. 36, 12mo.

3. The Revival at Ahoghill; its Narrative and Nature. By the Rev. D. Adams, Ahoghill. Belfast. Pp. 30, 8vo.

4. The Revival Movement in Lisburn: the "Strikings-down" and the "Marks" vindicated, as the Pure and Genuine Work of the Lord. By Alex. M'Cann. Belfast. Pp. 64, 8vo.

5. Revivalism: Is it of God or of the Devil? With Observations on the "Sleeping Cases." (3rd Thousand.) Belfast. Pp. 8, 8vo.

6. The Revival: a Weekly Record of Events connected with the present Revival of Religion. London—Morgan and Chase. (Each No. contains 8 pages, sm. 4to.)

7. Thoughts on the Revival of 1859: a Sermon. By the Rev. James Morgan, D.D. Belfast. Pp. 12, 8vo.

8. Brief Narrative of a Visit to the North of Ireland during the Awakening. By H. C. Binns. London. Pp. 15, 12mo.

9. Bodily Effects of Religious Excitement. (Reprinted from the Princeton Review.) Armagh. Pp. 23, 12mo.

10. Revivalism Reviewed. By the Rev. W. M'Ilwaine, A.M., Incumbent of St. George's Church, Belfast. Pp. 16, 8vo.

11. The Work and Counter-work: or the Religious Revival in Belfast; with an Explanation of the Physical Phenomena. By Edward A. Stopford, Archdeacon of Meath. Dublin. Pp. 92, 8vo.

12. The Evidences of the Work of the Holy Spirit: a Sermon, preached in St. Stephen's Church, Dublin. By George Salmon, D.D., F.T.C.D. With an Appendix. Dublin. Pp. 57, 8vo.

13. God's Work and Satan's Counter-works: a Sermon, preached in Killileagh Church. By the Rev. Edward Hincks, D.D. (2nd Ed.) Belfast. Pp. 16, 8vo.

14. The Ulster Revival; a Paper read before the Evangelical Alliance, Sept. 1859. By the Rev. Charles Seaver, Incumbent of St. John's, Belfast. Pp. 20, 8vo.

15. The Ulster Revival and its Physiological Accidents; a Paper read before the Evangelical Alliance, Sept. 1859. By the Rev. James M'Cosh, LL.D., Author of the Method of the Divine Government. Belfast. Pp. 15, 8vo.

16. Revivals:—"Covet earnestly the Best Gifts:" a Sermon, preached in Portadown Church. By Henry Bryan Carter, Curate of Clon-feacle. Belfast. Pp. 12, 12mo.

17. Words of Caution and Counsel on the present Religious Revival. By Thomas M'Neece, D.D., Rector of Arboe, &c. &c. Dublin. Pp. 23, 8vo.

18. Revivalism. By the Rev. Jer. Bowen, B.A. London—Rivingtons. Pp. 22, 8vo.

19. Another Stone in the Temple. Belfast. Pp. 4, 8vo.

20. An Impartial View of the Revival in Ireland. By the Rev. Francis King, A.B., Chaplain of St. Patrick's, Newry. Pp. 52, 12mo.

21. Person and Work of the Holy Spirit: a Discourse delivered to the (Calvinistic) Presbyterian Congregation, Donegall Street, Belfast. By the Rev. Isaac Nelson. Pp. 36, 8vo.

[It would be endless to enumerate the lectures, letters and discussions, which appeared in the local newspapers, magazines and reviews, during the prevalence of the agitation; but many of them contained useful, well-authenticated and very significant statements.]

on so briskly in the counties of Antrim, Down, Armagh and Londonderry. Yet it is evident that in many quarters its real nature is as yet imperfectly understood. Judging from the statements which meet us in conversation, correspondence, and the proceedings of our religious societies, it would seem that misapprehension on this subject exists quite as widely among Unitarians as in any other denomination. Some of our friends to the eastward of the Irish Channel appear to have engaged in the pursuit of this spiritual bubble, after it had already burst. They have taken under their patronage a discredited and already ruined cause, when its early patrons and friends have grown heartily ashamed of it, and when the original propagators of the delusion,—many of whom, however, were themselves deluded,—are seeking, in silence and obscurity, a shelter from the shame which they have drawn down upon themselves. They come forward to enrol themselves under the banner of Revivalism, at a time when nothing but ridicule is to be gained by enlisting in the ragged regiment. The facility with which this moral epidemic has been hailed, by so many amongst us, as a sound and healthy action of the Spirit of God, seems to us another of the many facts which shew that the successors of Priestley, Lindsey and Belsham, whatever progress they may be supposed to have made in other directions, have not improved on the sober judgment, the penetrating sagacity and logical clearness of mind, by which those eminent men were distinguished. What is to become of Unitarianism, if those who are so easily made the dupes of transparent fallacies are to be henceforth its representatives and champions! The readiness with which the delusion has been welcomed as a truth of the most solemn and interesting kind, will excuse us for handling this topic at much greater length than its intrinsic importance would at all justify, though still very briefly, in reference to the abundance of the materials at hand.

Various accounts have been given of the beginning of the movement. The Rev. W. D. Corken, "Agent of the Irish Evangelical Society at Carrickfergus," traces it to the labours of an English lady, who visited the north of Ireland about two years ago, and succeeded in "converting" an elderly person "named M'——, and his wife," in the neighbourhood of Ballymena, from whom the influence spread. "Will not this circumstance," he asks, "gladden the hearts of our English ladies and all our dear friends in the Congregational churches of England? Will it not draw out their deepest sympathies towards us in Ireland? Will they not pray for us more fervently, *and aid our mission still more zealously?*" (*Massie*, p. 1.) The Rev. S. J. Moore, of Ballymena, states that the revival began with a society consisting of four young men, who met, for prayer and mutual exhortation, in a little school-house near the village of Connor, "two of

whom had lately removed thither from Ballymena," (having been apparently members of his own congregation,) "where they had seen themselves and been found by their Saviour." "The special object of their society was prayer that God would bless the preaching of the gospel in the Connor congregation, and their own labours, and those of others, in connection with the prayer-meetings and sabbath-schools throughout the district. . . . . The first observable instance of conversion occurred in December following. A young man became greatly alarmed. After some time, in answer to earnest prayer by himself and others, he found peace and confidence." (These, it may be here remarked, are universally the objects aimed at by those who labour for a revival: *first* to alarm the mind with the terrors of damnation, and *then* to bring it into a state in which it feels no farther uneasiness,—nothing but peace, confidence and a full assurance of salvation. When this is done, the end is accomplished.) Soon others experienced a similar process. "Special prayer was frequently offered in the fellowship-meeting on behalf of two persons," (seemingly in their presence,) "who, some three months afterwards, joyfully professed their faith in the Lord Jesus." The movement spread. "In the beginning of this year a convert from Connor visited his friends near Ahoghill, and through his urgency and prayers the Holy Spirit awakened nearly all the family to a deep sense of their sins: these became missionaries to their neighbours and friends; and about the middle of February, hundreds through the parishes of Drummaul and Ahoghill were overwhelmed with convictions of sin, its dangers and demerits; and during the month of March, in private houses, and barns, and school-houses, and churches, prayer-meetings were conducted and addressed by recent converts, attended by multitudes in the houses and around them." (*Moore*, pp. 2—4.) The Rev. Mr. Adams, the minister of Ahoghill, is not disposed to admit the claim of Connor, (*or of Ballymena viâ Connor,*) to the merit of having set the revival on foot. He says, "The present extraordinary religious movement in the north of Ireland began in the south-west part of the parish of Ahoghill, in the county of Antrim, about the commencement of the present year, 1859. . . . . For a considerable period previously there was here, as at other places, a slow, silent work of salvation progressing satisfactorily. Some would call this a revival, and so it was in a sense. But the torrent-flood of God's mercy did not come till the early part of this year, and then *it was first manifested at Ahoghill.* While I admit the existence of some prayer-meetings elsewhere, I deny that they were the beginning of the revival, properly speaking." (*Adams*, p. 1.) The Rev. J. Bain, unwilling to deprive any of the localities or agents of the credit which they are so anxious to assert for themselves, inclines to compromise the question of their re-

spective claims, by expressing his belief that the revival, "like a mighty stream, has arisen from a number of springs, concealed, it may be, in the bosom of the mountains of Antrim, where for a season they continued to gush forth, seen only by a few, until now they have met in the valleys, and are pouring their floods upon the churches, sweeping sin and cold-hearted formalism before them. That the work is the Lord's I have *now* no reason to doubt." (*Massie*, pp. 2, 3.) It would seem that at first he doubted.

But wherever the movement may have originated, the means by which it was propagated admit of no doubt. In Ballymena, Ballymoney, Antrim, Coleraine, Belfast, Lisburn, Lurgan, Dromore, and other places into which it was desired to spread the contagion, the first step was usually made by ministers—Calvinistic, Methodist and Episcopalian—who were favourable to the agitation, announcing to their people the wonderful outpouring of the Spirit which had taken place in the localities previously affected. Prayers were frequently and urgently offered up in the houses of worship for a similar manifestation of the power of God in the neighbourhood; the people were exhorted to pray for it in their homes and families; and prayer-meetings were instituted in which the supplication might be reiterated from the whole district simultaneously. On all these occasions, the terrors of the Lord were denounced, not always vociferously, but in most cases with the most terrific imagery and "undisguised simplicity." The ground being thus prepared, "converts" from other places already "smitten" were introduced; sometimes they were sent for, at other times they came uninvited. They narrated the history of their own cases; the terrors they had experienced when first awakened; the agonizing prayers they had sent forth; the conflict through which they had passed; the gradual or rapid clearing away of the gloom from their souls; and the delight and joy with which they had at last been enabled to feel that their sinfulness was "washed away in the blood of Emmanuel," and that their final salvation was "sealed and sure." (*Massie* and the *Revival newspaper*, passim.) Some of these converts did not hesitate to acknowledge that, till a few months or weeks before the time when they stood forth as the messengers of Jesus to perishing sinners, they had been leading the most immoral and profligate lives. One of the two who were first invited from the neighbourhood of Ballymena to further the work of revival in Belfast, stated, rather by way of ostentation than of confession, that he was not long emerged from jail, to which he had been sentenced, not for the first time, for offences against the law. He made this part of his history the foundation of an appeal to his auditors. "If I, notwithstanding all my crimes, have so readily found peace and comfort, surely none of you need despair; *only believe!*" It would be extraordinary if among a multitude

of persons, already wrought up to a high pitch of excitement, and in many cases reduced to a state of spiritual anguish by the preparatory discipline to which they had been subjected, there were not found several disposed to accept the easy terms. Many, no doubt, thought themselves entitled to claim the sweet privilege of being among the ransomed. Others, there is too much reason to believe, were not even imposed upon by their own enthusiasm, but simply imitated what they saw others do and say, determined not to be left behind in the race, and willing to have a share in the notoriety, the distinction and the general interest which they saw lavished on their friends and neighbours who professed to have undergone the life-giving change.

It is always preceded by "an agonizing sense of sin. The parties affected feel that sin is a hell-kindling, soul-destroying, God-hating thing; they not only dread the wrath and curse of an offended God, as exposing them to everlasting torment, but experience in many cases a godly sorrow for their offences against the holy and good Jehovah, especially in neglecting and rejecting the well-beloved Son, 'having trodden under foot the Son of God, and counted the blood of the covenant wherewith he was sanctified *(sic)* an unholy thing, and hath done despite to the spirit of grace.' The conscience thus afraid by the remembrance of past sins, and the devil assaulting them with great violence, going about to overwhelm them with heaps, seas of sins, we often see the perspiration, bead-like, streaming from the brow, the body trembling as in an ague fever, the hands clasped with convulsive energy and raised to heaven. .... The soul begins to live as it utters the now well-known and common cry, 'God be merciful to me, a sinner.'" *(Adams,* p. 13.) To the same effect says another ardent friend of the revival: "The soul is felt to be guilty and lost. Sin is seen to be loathsome and deadly, and it is generally felt to be an intolerable burthen, crushing the body and soul to hell. Horror unutterable overwhelms the heart, especially of those who feel that the devil is persuading or dragging them to perdition. With some, this conviction has reference to particular easily besetting sins; with others, the greater number, to the general sinful state of the soul. In almost all the unregenerate, it produces an intense fear, an awful agonizing horror of eternal condemnation. .... The subjects of conviction are of all ages, from five to seventy years; but the great majority are young. Some are frequently convicted, though they do not return to their old ways, perhaps to intensify the work. Conviction and sinning alternate with some; and ultimately the convictions seem, *in the mean time,* to triumph." *(Moore,* pp. 9, 10.) This part of the process is obviously grounded on the most intense doctrines of Calvinism,—an offended God, an ever-active devil, an eternal hell. Remorse is felt not merely for besetting sins, but for "the *general* sinful state of the soul,"—which, we are

sure we do Mr. Moore no injustice in affirming, means, in his mouth, its sinfulness by nature derived from the original corruption of the whole race of man in Adam. How else could these horrors overwhelm the minds of *children of five years old?* It is well that all of us should understand what is the real significance of the movement which so many are anxious to applaud, if not to recommend for imitation.

Mr. Moore states that the great majority of the convicts are young. In the earlier stages of life, that is, among the children, the proportion of the two sexes who are (or were) thus affected is nearly equal; perhaps the number of little girls who "feel conviction" is rather greater than that of young boys of the same age. In advancing life, the females decidedly preponderate. Not many youths "experience conviction" after the age of fifteen years, and scarcely any men after two-and-twenty; but women of all ages are smitten. "They" (the converts) "have been universally of one class—the ignorant, uneducated, hard-worked and easily-impressed class; and, in the proportion of nineteen out of every twenty, young and excitable females. When I say universally, I do so deliberately, for the exceptions are not worth taking into account. I have known of some in the upper class who, in the reign of the excitement, went about even desiring to be 'struck,' and failed; and just one individual approaching to the class of educated has come within my knowledge in Belfast." (*M'Ilwaine*, p. 9.) We have heard of a few cases in which some went through the whole or part of the revival process who had received a moderately good education; but in all the instances of this kind of which we have heard, conviction was followed by the suspension or the loss of reason; in several, by the loss of life. But we must not anticipate.

Our readers can hardly fail to have remarked the *naïveté* with which Mr. Moore announces that "*some are frequently convicted, though they do not return to their old ways.*" He does not tell, what however is an undoubted fact, that this agonizing anguish has been experienced by some of the convicts as often as once every second or third day, and in some cases as often as once a day, for weeks together. With our profane carnal philosophy, we can account for these things very easily on natural principles; but if they are the work immediately of the Holy Spirit, (an Omnipotent agent,) it does seem strange that it should require to be repeated so often.

Our brethren whose heads are filled with the fancies of anti-sectarianism, and who, at the same time, have been strongly attracted towards the Revival movement, will doubtless be grateful to us for informing them that it has, from first to last, been characterized by a bitter spirit of intolerance towards all forms of faith different from that which is professed in the communities to which the revivalists and the converts belong. The Editor

of the *Coleraine Chronicle*,—who is a very ardent friend of the movement, and who gives, as an evidence of its power, the pleasing fact that on one occasion he had applications for several hundred copies of his paper more than he was able to supply, (*Massie*, p. 12,) says, "The most tangible proof of the genuineness of this work is to be found in its remarkable results, as evidenced in the disappearance of vice, the prevalence of a high-toned morality, and the conversion of *Roman Catholics, Unitarians and other errorists. . . . Arians have joined Trinitarian churches, and Roman Catholics have burned their prayer-books and become Protestants*, in spite of the virtues of holy water and wine." (*Massie*, p. 4.) At Ballymena, a poor woman "was urged by some of her fellow-converts *to follow their example* and burn her 'Manual' of the Roman Catholic faith. 'No,' she replied, 'I will not do that, for it contains some portions of the Word of God, *but I will bury it in the earth*.'" (*Massie*, p. 19.) Similar indications of an anti-catholic spirit will meet the reader of the first half-dozen pamphlets in our list. But these can give but a faint idea of the savage ferocity with which the doctrines, the clergy and the rites of the Romish Church were inveighed against in many of the revival prayer-meetings. Still it may be inferred that a system which inculcated as an act pleasing to God, that of burning the prayer-books and other works of Roman Catholic devotion, cannot claim much credit for anti-sectarianism, and could scarcely be said to aim at the preservation of the public peace in neighbourhoods in which there is a large infusion of Roman Catholicism in the population. And this reminds us of the language uttered by one of the speakers at the recent meeting of the London District Unitarian Society. He said that on the 12th of July, "the whole of the vast assembly" were animated by a spirit of love to all mankind, which it was truly delightful to witness. We can inform this gentleman that on the 12th of July, 1859, there were just two "vast assemblages" held in the north of Ireland,—one at Ballymena, and one on the race-course, called the Maze, near the town of Lisburn. Both were convened nominally as Revival meetings; and that at Ballymena appears to have been conducted in a perfectly inoffensive manner. But the Maze meeting was attended by a great number of Orange lodges, with flags, sashes and other insignia, which marched to the ground in bodies, with drums and fifes playing party tunes; and, in several instances, the persons composing the procession uttered most insulting expressions toward their Roman Catholic fellow-citizens. Several were equipped with fire-arms, which they discharged from time to time, not only while going to and returning from the meeting, but during its continuance; so that it is due to the forbearance of others, and no merit of theirs, that the day did not close with riot and bloodshed. Such proceedings, we need scarcely add, are themselves, by the Act for sup-

pressing party processions and demonstrations, a breach of the public peace.

Not a whit less intolerant towards every shade and form of *Unitarianism* were the leaders of the Revival movement. In a few instances, persons professing Unitarian opinions were caught by the epidemic frensy. Some were terrified by the awful denunciations which they heard from the pulpit, when, from motives of curiosity, they had gone to see and hear what was making such a noise in the surrounding sects; their nervous system received a shock; and when they heard their neighbours shrieking, or saw them thrown prostrate to the earth, writhing in agony, and calling on Jesus to rescue them from the bottomless pit, it is no wonder that a few young persons, chiefly delicate females, were unable to resist a contagion which might put the self-controlling power of the strongest man to a severe test. When one such person yielded to the influences which were brought to bear upon her and was "stricken,"—that is, deprived of the power of her limbs, with partial or total loss of consciousness for a time,—great was the rejoicing and loud were the pæans chanted on the wonderful triumph. The triumph was proclaimed at prayer-meetings, celebrated in newspapers, and heralded to the south, the east and the west, in the letters of correspondents, as an augury of the speedy downfal of the "God-denying heresy." For the destruction of Unitarianism, solemn prayers were repeatedly offered up; and many of these, and indeed most of those presented in connection with the revival, were addressed not to the God and Father of all, but to the Lord Jesus. As might be expected from the youth and ignorance of many of the persons employed in leading the worship, some of these prayers were as silly as they were unscriptural. "Come unto me," said a child of ten or twelve years old, who was permitted by a Presbyterian minister to conduct the devotional services of his congregation,—"Come unto me, O Lord Jesus, *and I will give you rest!*" Another youthful convert besought the Lord Jesus to come and rescue his followers "*from the pit of salvation!*" And we, who believe it to be unwarrantable to address prayer to any but the Living and True God, and who believe that the Divine Spirit is not the author of nonsense and absurdity, are required to demonstrate, to the satisfaction of professing Unitarians, enlightened and liberal Christians, that they are mistaken when they think they see in all this the immediate work of the Spirit of God!

As might be expected, the anti-Unitarian zeal of some of the agents in this work led them, in some instances, to misconceive and very grossly to misrepresent facts which they had seen through the coloured medium of sectarian prejudice. The Rev. Mr. Marrable, a clergyman of the Church of England, came to Ballymena while the fever was at its height,—was told one of

the hundred lying tales which were from day to day put into circulation,—swallowed it with implicit and uninquiring faith, —and in due time published it abroad in a printed account of his tour. He said that two young persons belonging to the Unitarian congregation in Ballymena,—whom he indicated, by means of initials and descriptive circumstances, in such a manner that the individuals might just as well have been named,—had been, during the revival, converted from their erroneous faith; he reported expressions, full of contempt, which they were said to have used with respect to it; their words, declaring a fixed determination never again to enter the chapel which they had hitherto attended; and language, full of blasphemy and impiety, which their minister, the Rev. John A. Crozier, was stated to have used to them and in their presence. *There was not a syllable of truth in the whole story!* And although the two young persons referred to, and their father and mother, and the minister thus belied, published the most emphatic contradiction of it in every one of its facts and circumstances, it has never yet been retracted, and is in many quarters still believed, and accepted as an undeniable proof that the hand and spirit of God were at work in "the blessed revival of religion in Ulster!" But this is by no means the worst example of the deliberate falsehoods by which the movement was urged forward and followed up. Upon that topic we shall hereafter have a few remarks to offer. Meanwhile, it is our object to illustrate, for the information of our "non-sectarian" readers, the bitter spirit of hostility to Unitarianism by which the movement was characterized from the very outset. In truth, its supposed tendency to draw away members from the Unitarian to the orthodox churches, was undoubtedly one of its features which very much commended it to the friends of evangelical religion, both in the province of Ulster and at a distance. It was the bait by which many were caught, who, but for this device, would have exerted their sagacity much sooner than they did, in ascertaining the real nature of the Revival movement. Their zeal was enkindled and their sympathy enlisted in favour of a process which, as it was represented to them, held forth the prospect of utterly uprooting from the soil of Ireland the pestilent heresy of Unitarianism; and they inquired no farther. While on this topic, we may advert to a letter which we have seen from a revivalist minister addressed to a Unitarian divine who happened to be present at a revival meeting, the writer of which seemed to expect that his heretical brother would be brought over to the true faith by hearing so many of the converts,—chiefly, it may be remarked, boys and girls under the age of fourteen, one apparently not more than ten,—declare that they had "found peace" and "full assurance" after, and in answer to, prayer addressed to the Lord Jesus!

So far all was peace among the revivalists. Presbyterians,

Episcopalians, Methodists of every shade and colour, were actively engaged in a crusade against the common enemy, and all of them appeared to work harmoniously together. But Catholics and Unitarians are not the only ones to be dreaded and disliked by a portion of the self-styled "religious world." In the midst of the evangelical ranks are jealousies and suspicions, not the less deep because they are not paraded on platforms. While the fever was at its height, an Episcopalian clergyman, of pre-eminent zeal for the Evangelical cause, astonished the members of his own Church, and confounded the great body of the spiritual agitators, by declaring, in a speech delivered at the meeting of the Evangelical Alliance, that he had narrowly watched the movement, and had found it to be so directed as to have become a hostile influence brought to bear upon the Established Church. We give his own words: "I say advisedly that this Revival movement has been so managed as to have become a proselytizing engine directed against the Church of which I am a member." It is no wonder that the reverend gentleman, surrounded as he was by the advocates of the system which he thus denounced, was assailed by a clamour which almost prevented him from continuing his address; but his words were heard and have produced their effect. The clergy of the Church of England have ever since, as a body, stood aloof from the revival, and very few of the laity of that communion now speak of it otherwise than in terms of sorrow or derision. We copy the following from the Rev. W. M'Ilwaine's pamphlet, premising that the writer is a respected episcopal clergyman of high evangelical sentiments and pre-eminent for ministerial zeal: "Sufficient, perhaps, has been said of the evil consequences of this wretched system; there is one other on which my limits permit me to say but a passing word. *It has been abused, to my own knowledge, to the vilest purposes of sectarianism and proselytism, properly so called.* The ranks of those sects around us whose staple is extravagance and excitement, are at this moment recruited by the victims of the current and popular delusion." *(M'Ilwaine,* p. 16.)

So much for the "non-sectarian" character which at one time was loudly claimed for the movement by its advocates. *It never deserved it.* It was from the first bitterly, intensely sectarian, as against Romanism and Unitarianism; and it is now denounced as animated by a proselytizing aim, directed against that very Church whose ministers, coming from a distance to view the remarkable events of which they had heard, and unacquainted with the character and history of the men with whom they had to deal, became easy dupes to an artfully contrived system; and, through the medium of their reports, published in newspapers, pamphlets and magazines, were the chief instruments by which the delusion was spread throughout the length and breadth of the United Kingdom.

We must reserve for another paper what we have to say respecting the physical and moral (or immoral) results of the revival, so far as they have hitherto developed themselves. We shall conclude, for the present, with the following sentences from the pen of one of the most respected clergymen of the Evangelical persuasion in the north of Ireland, one who in a case of this kind is certainly not to be considered as prejudiced against any movement that could fairly or even plausibly claim to be a spiritual awakening. He says,—

"And here let me be permitted *to put persons at a distance on their guard against certain statements which have been sent on their rounds, through the public press,* by means of 'Revival organs' and otherwise, respecting the work in progress. It would be a task as distasteful as perhaps needless to expose *the large amount of fiction and fallacy* which has thus got into circulation. It is *really marvellous how persons in the rank of Christian ministers and others could so commit themselves.* Painful as it is to do so, the public must be reminded that the character, circumstances and credibility of the witness ought, in every such case, to be fully taken into account. And how is it in this case? Without venturing to impugn the sincerity or truthfulness of *many* of those who have volunteered to undertake tours of inspection and to publish them, I must be permitted to remind those who have read these publications of the circumstances under which, as well as the persons by whom, they were written. First came forth *a most marvellous and exaggerated statement of the Revival movement,* by means of the public press and its organs. I say deliberately, a most exaggerated statement. Some specimens of it shall presently be submitted. Then, from distant parishes, and with minds so prepared to receive all the wonders narrated, came ministers of religion and others, to take *a surface view* of what was going on, and then to print and publish it. *The qualifications, retractions and explanations to which some of these gentlemen have been already obliged to resort, are as humiliating as they are instructive.* How could it be otherwise? Prepared to believe and admire all that was seen, *they listened to every story and report, trusted every appearance, endorsed every 'convert,'* and then proceeded to publish their respective tours. *It has been my painful experience to detect the grossest misrepresentation in many of these reports.* I have come into personal contact with many of these alleged converts, and regret to say that my experience of them, *however sincere they may have seemed,* led me to very different conclusions from those of their previous visitors. *More melancholy examples of credulity on the one side, and ignorance, self-deception and superstition on the other,* could hardly be imagined." *(M'Ilwaine,* p. 5.)

These are sensible and judicious remarks, and our readers will do well to bear them in mind. In substance they are fully borne out by the statements of several other writers, whose publications we have enumerated.

A REPLY TO SOME RECENT STRICTURES IN THE CHRISTIAN REFORMER ON AN ARTICLE IN THE NATIONAL REVIEW ON EWALD'S "APOSTOLIC AGE."

SIR,

WHEN a man gives his thoughts to the public, especially if they controvert received opinions, he must expect to have them challenged and criticised; and if the animadversions to which he is subjected, shew competent knowledge of the subject and display a fair and candid spirit, he has no reason to complain. It is only by such discussion that whatever truth his speculations may contain, can be more fully brought out, and the error involved in them be exposed and dissipated. Under ordinary circumstances, I should have been well content to let whatever I may have written, quietly produce its own effect of approval or rejection in the minds of readers, without engaging any further in its assertion or defence. I have little time and less taste for controversy. But the allusions in an article in your last number, signed "An Unitarian Layman," are so distinctly personal, and the imputations of various kinds contained in it are so fitted to leave a mistaken and even an injurious impression behind them, that, however disagreeable the task, I do not feel myself at liberty to allow them to pass without reply.

Allow me, in the first place, a word or two about Ewald himself. Your correspondent seems to think it "a matter of little moment what Ewald may have thought or written on the subject of the resurrection of Christ;" and words of my own are cited from the article in the *National Review* to detract from his authority, and make it appear a loss of time for any English reader to give himself the trouble to learn the opinions of such a man. In criticising his work, it was a simple act of literary honesty to notice the defects of temper and judgment with which this eminent scholar is undoubtedly chargeable. But the words which I have used in speaking of his extraordinary merits, ought in fairness to have been quoted along with those in which I have felt it necessary to employ the language of censure. Ewald is one of the most religious of the great philologists of Germany, full of reverence for the Scriptures and for the character and work of Christ. It is rather his distinction among his class. I have not scrupled to say of him: "Everywhere we recognize the fervour and earnestness of his spirit and its elevated moral tone, the vast extent and minute exactness of his philological attainments, the depth and richness of his critical resources, the readiness and fertility of his combinations, and his comprehensive grasp at once in its broadest features and smallest details of the national life of Judaism." (*Nat. Rev.* for July, p. 119.) Whatever your correspondent may think, I venture to assert that it is not unimportant for any one who would keep pace with the pro-

gress of theological ideas, to learn what so profound a Hebraist has thought on any point of Hebrew belief; and I feel confident that I shall be borne out in this assertion by all who have sufficient knowledge of the subject to qualify them to offer an opinion. Ewald, like some great scholars of our own country, Wakefield, Warburton and Bentley, is too conscious of his vast intellectual wealth and strength; and this renders him at times haughty and contemptuous in his bearing towards other men, and fills him with an overweening conceit of the value and justness of his own theories. But there are few from whom so much is to be learned. His very errors and extravagances, rich as they are in learning and in thought, are more pregnant with instruction for those who understand how to use them, than thousands of worn-out truisms that go unquestioned through the world.

Let me take this opportunity of expressing my obligations to your correspondent for pointing out to me the very faulty construction of a sentence of mine (written, it is true, when my mind was somewhat exhausted by a long term of academic labour, but not therefore excusable), in which two quarrelsome *its*, not able to settle their rival claims, leave us in doubt, like some other disputants, which is right and which is wrong. I must put an end to this unhappy litigation by deciding, once for all, that "its" with "final result" belongs to the "history of the Hebrew people," but that the second "it" is nevertheless entitled to take up the "final result" as its own. I fully acquiesce in the propriety of your correspondent's seasonable interposition.

Before proceeding to the main subject of this discussion, I wish to dispose of one or two personal matters. I am charged by your correspondent with vagueness of statement and with not writing intelligibly. No man is more aware than myself of the great imperfection of my style. But with regard to its "confused obscurity," some who are pretty good judges of English composition have remarked to me, that whatever objections in other respects the offending article may lie open to, its language is perfectly clear; and an earlier critic (C. R., October, p. 578) has observed, that "its positions, even when vague, are throughout intelligible." As to vagueness, may not your correspondent's charge be retorted on himself? After reading over repeatedly what he has written in p. 708, I confess I do not understand him. I cannot find in the passages there quoted or referred to, the shadow of a ground for the accusation—that I am even unconsciously unjust and unfair, that I assume unbecoming airs of originality where there is nothing new, that I "undervalue the wisdom of our ancestors" and fall into the "more serious error of understating it." Your correspondent must be under some hallucination. He is fighting with a phantom of his own creation, and sees in my pages what is only the reflection of some strange idea that has got possession of his mind. I have carefully looked

over these pages again, and I say deliberately, without fear of contradiction from any unprejudiced reader, from any one who is not determined to find what he has already pre-conceived, that I have not written a single word to justify any one of the three charges here alleged. I have called it "a great mistake to treat Christianity so entirely as an isolated event—a fact *sui generis*—in the course of human affairs." I call it so still; and I appeal to the great mass of works on the Evidences and the History of the Scriptures current and popular in this country, in proof of the fact that Christianity is still generally regarded in that light. When the present learned and accomplished Dean of St. Paul's published many years ago a "History of the Jews" based to a large extent on the opposite view, he found to his cost what hostility his work excited. It perhaps lost him a bishopric. He has written his "History of Christianity" in the same enlightened spirit, but I see no evidence that the general feeling of the Christian public has yet undergone any material change. I think, therefore, I was fully justified in making that statement; but I have nowhere claimed for it any novelty or originality. Ewald, indeed, has handled the history of Christianity in a manner so strikingly his own, that it might perhaps be said of him that he has the merit of placing many old facts in a comparatively new point of view. But I cannot find that I have anywhere asserted this. On the contrary, I have most distinctly classed him with some others. I have said that he takes "a broader view *than is often the case*." Your correspondent observes, with a solemnity almost ludicrous, "that good and able men," "long before the day of Ewald and his reviewer," have dwelt on the connection between the Jewish and Christian dispensations, and on the relations of both to the general condition of mankind. Does he really suppose me ignorant of so notorious a fact? Does he imagine that, because my subject did not require me to mention particularly the labours of such men, I therefore undervalued them, as furnishing in their time and place important contributions to the formation of theological opinion? I say contributions, because I do not allow, that on a subject which is essentially progressive, even the best works can do more than contribute to knowledge. Your correspondent surely does not mean to insinuate, that in prosecuting our inquiries we are to be precluded from embracing any new views which commend themselves to our reason and are supported by irresistible evidence; and that in deliberately adopting them, we thereby cast a slight on what we have already learned from earlier instructors. Yet I am hardly able to put any other interpretation on a sentence which is almost as involved and obscure as one of mine already referred to, which he so properly condemned. He reminds me that "I might have known, and must have forgotten, how in schools of instruction which were open to me, the connection between the

Jewish and Christian dispensations was dwelt upon and illustrated, and the general condition of the world at the time when Christ appeared was stated, amongst other grounds of evidence, as strikingly and beautifully illustrating the manner in which Divine Wisdom had adapted means to ends." Certainly it is a plain case enough that "I might have known" what I was once taught; and it is also possible that, like many another unprofitable student, I may have forgotten what I was taught. But if the reference in this sphinx-like oracle be, as I conjecture it must be, to the lecture-room of a most accomplished instructor and venerated friend now no more, I take leave to say, that I respect and cherish what I formerly learned from that honoured and excellent man quite as profoundly perhaps and gratefully as your correspondent; and if there be one lesson more than another which those wise and enlightened teachings have permanently impressed on my mind, it is this,—to value their *spirit* more than their *form*, to work on in the power and freedom of the general principle which animated them, rather than to hold myself bound by any particular conclusion into which for the time they might have shaped themselves. I believe that our revered Tutor would consider his memory more honoured by pupils who, in his own candid and truthful spirit, modify or abandon any doctrines once taught by him when increase of light has shewn them to be erroneous, than by such as, in the spirit of unyielding dogmatism, cling with a blind and ignorant tenacity to his whole system of ideas, corresponding, as it necessarily must, to the state of knowledge half a century ago. To accept new light as it comes to us, is not to assume any superiority over our predecessors, but simply to do what they would themselves have done were they living now. This may be done in perfect humility, with the deepest sense of feeble powers and limited attainment, with the consciousness in fact of no other feeling than that of simple allegiance to truth. Thus much I have felt myself obliged to say in reply to charges so confidently made and so singularly ill supported. Your correspondent's oracular tone of rebuke addressed to men who have at least paid as much attention to the subjects on which they write as himself, and the quiet assumption of being undoubtedly in the right which pervades his letter, may raise the question in some minds whether he possesses enough of the judicial faculty which he so highly values, to qualify him to pronounce sentence in this summary way, and whether he is not himself obnoxious to the very censure which he so freely administers to others.

One of the charges brought against the article in question is, that it does not keep the views of Ewald and those of the reviewer sufficiently distinct. In the analysis and criticism of a complex work, it is scarcely possible that some such intermingling should not take place, especially in passages where there is any coincidence of ideas between the reviewer and the subject

of his criticism. Throughout, however, I think it will be found that what is Ewald's and what is my own are pretty clearly marked off from each other. This is particularly the case in regard to his views about the resurrection. I distinctly give a summary of them, commencing at the top of p. 142 and terminating about the middle of p. 143, with references all through the summary to the pages in Ewald's volume. No reader of common attention can have overlooked the fact, that I am here giving Ewald's opinion alone, without expressing either approval or disapproval. At the end of the summary I add, that "his statements are open to many objections in detail, and that his view of the whole subject is not always consistent with itself." In his account of the appearances of Christ after his death, I further remark, that "he has given utterance to feelings which must often have passed through the minds of thoughtful readers in reference to this part of the evangelical narrative." My allusion, it is obvious, is to the mysterious and fitful character of those appearances, so different from the ordinary manifestation of a human body under the known conditions of terrestrial existence. To this extent I agree with Ewald. In *accounting* for the impressions so strongly made on the minds of the disciples which led them to believe in the restoration of their Master to life, I differ from him. So far as I can make out his views, which he has shrouded in more than his ordinary obscurity, he considers the whole affair to have been what the Germans would call a *subjective process*, an intensifying into peculiar vividness of ideas and remembrances already in the mind, without being occasioned by any *extra-personal* influence. For myself, I do not think this an adequate explanation of the phenomena. I cannot account for the recorded change in the language and conduct of the disciples, without the supposition of some presence visiting them, which they recognized in some way inexplicable by us, as that of a real person from the invisible world, —an impression, therefore, which had a cause outside themselves, and was not a mere product of the working of excited minds. I call this a *spiritual* fact, from the want of any more appropriate term to express a reality made cognizable and certain to a human soul through some other avenue than the outward senses. The difference between my own view and Ewald's is, I should think, obvious enough. There seems to me satisfactory evidence that Christ's resurrection or ascension (ἀνάστασις or ἀνάληψις), whichever term we prefer to adopt (for I regard them as only different forms of expression for one and the same mysterious and unsearchable fact, his passage from the present into the next life), was so witnessed to the minds of believers (not through the violation of any natural law, but in virtue of some deeper law affecting the relations of the seen and the unseen worlds, than we are yet able to trace), that they were convinced of the perpetuity of

his existence and of the reality of his occasional intercourse with them. My belief, therefore, in the *reality* of a resurrection historically attested is just as strong as theirs who take all the accounts of the bodily re-appearance in the strictest and most literal sense. Whereas I cannot find that Ewald, though doubtless having a firm general faith in immortality, believes in any direct and extraordinary witness to a resurrection at all.

The views which I have ventured to express on this subject, are not views taken up on a sudden and without much reflection; still less have they been adopted from any blind admiration of great German authorities. They were substantially mine long before I had studied Ewald or even heard of his name. At an early age the question of immortal life haunted my mind as, next to a trust in the living God, the grandest and most solemn interest of our mortal being. I inherited the persuasion, which was all but universal in my youth among our denomination of Christians, that the resurrection of Christ as usually understood was the corner-stone of that belief. I remember well how anxiously I studied the records of it, in the hope of finding perfect satisfaction. If I had prejudices, they were strongly in favour of belief, not of disbelief. The narrative left on my mind conflicting impressions which I could not reconcile. The profound conviction of the apostolic age, inspiring its marvellous sacrifices and heroic martyrdoms, and attested, outside scripture, by manifold witnesses, heathen and post-apostolic, assured me that those early believers must have had some extraordinary evidence of *a* resurrection. Mere *subjective* persuasion, possessing simultaneously so many minds, seemed to me an inadequate explanation of the phenomena. There must have been, I felt, some influence out of the usual order of nature at the bottom of the whole affair. At the same time there was something so strange, inexplicable and even inconsistent in the recorded appearances before the ascension and in the ascension itself, that I found an insurmountable difficulty in taking them for simple historical events, and supposed it possible they might have grown imperceptibly into this form under the moulding influence of oral tradition, out of the mysterious report of *spiritual* experiences, of the kind already described. But the difficulty was a fact, whether I could explain it or not. I let my faith, therefore, rest practically on the evidence, to me satisfactory, that *a* resurrection had taken place and been witnessed in some way or other to the minds of believers; and I left the accounts of the *bodily* appearances in the obscurity in which I found them,—as a kind of proof which carried no conviction to my own mind, which seemed to me wholly unsuited to the subject to which it was applied, and on which I could not but feel that a disproportionate and even a mischievous stress had been laid in arguing the momentous question of immortal life. Proof was wanted, not of a renewed *terrestrial,* but of entrance

into a *celestial*, life. So it was that my opinions assumed their present form; and I only mention the circumstance to shew that, whether right or wrong, they have not been extemporized, but slowly worked out through many intervening phases of doubt and difficulty, after an anxious comparison of conflicting phenomena, and with an earnest endeavour to get at the truth by placing those phenomena in their proper relation to each other. The result has been increased tranquillity to my own mind, in the conviction that man is essentially a spiritual and immortal being,—that he has even here on earth relations real and solemn, though not always traceable by us, with an invisible state beyond the phenomenal world,—and that at a few rare and favoured moments the veil has been pierced and a presence come through it to believing souls, to convince them, on evidence which material sense could not grasp, that death is only a passage into life.

Having replied to personal charges, pointed out the difference between my own views and Ewald's, and attempted to explain in what sense I accept the evidence for the reality of a resurrection, I have accomplished the principal object of this communication, and might here terminate the discussion. I wish, however, to add a few words on one or two other points. Your intelligent correspondent for October, who signs himself "A Unitarian Minister," and whose general ability and scholarly treatment of this subject I willingly acknowledge, though his peculiar cast of mind seems to disqualify him for doing full justice to views opposed to his own,—has put my judgment on the resurrection in the same class with the dreams of Woolston. But there is really no analogy between them, and the comparison is not a fair one. Woolston allegorized the whole of the historical narrative of the New Testament into an emblematical representation of the spiritual life of Christ in the soul. I have done nothing of the sort. I have never questioned in a passing hint the historical reality of Christ's actions and teachings. I have simply argued, from what appears to me the least difficult interpretation of the facts of the case, that Christ's manifestation to his disciples after death must have been something different from a mere *bodily* restoration from the grave. I understand the same writer to deny that the bodily resurrection of Christ ever could be, or ever had been, appealed to by intelligent persons as any ground of belief in human immortality. "Those," he says, "who have suggested that it was a transition state intermediate between the gross bodily life and the purely spiritual, seem to me not to understand what they affirm, any more than those who point to it as the pattern of our immortal life" (p. 588). This somewhat sharp and sweeping censure includes Neander, if his words have any meaning, to say nothing of other eminent and learned men, and certainly Dr. Priestley. I find others, pretty well acquainted with the history of opinion in our body, agree with myself that

in the earlier part of this century it was certainly the prevalent belief, diffused by the writings of Mr. Belsham, Dr. Priestley and Bishop Law, that the bodily resurrection of Christ was the only reliable evidence of a future life. Indeed in any other view it is difficult to see why such immense stress should have been laid on it. If it was only one among many miracles attesting divine authority, the circumstances accompanying it were less wonderful than those of the raising of Lazarus. I have the most distinct recollection of its being the direct aim of views then current, and maintained by many eminent men, to discredit as of no weight all the natural presumptions in favour of immortality derived from the spiritual nature of man and his filial relationship to the everlasting Fountain of life. The turn given to opinion on this subject in another and, as I believe, a better direction, was due mainly to the effect of Dr. Channing's writings; and I have a tolerably distinct impression that they were objected to at first by some of the older school as mystical. Mr. Furness, quoted by your correspondent (p. 585), says that still "the general belief is that Christ rose from the dead to establish the doctrine of the life beyond the grave." I have before me a well-known Sermon of Dr. Priestley's, preached in the Assembly-room at Buxton in 1790, in which he sets out with affirming the natural improbability of a future life, and then asserts (p. 6) that "Jesus Christ actually died and rose again as a *proof* of the reality" "of a proper resurrection of the dead;" and further on (p. 53), that we are to consider "his resurrection as a *pledge* and *assurance* of our own, which it is the great object of Christianity to enforce." Now it is to this view of the bodily resurrection of Christ that I object, as having no bearing, that I am able to discern, on the conclusion which it is supposed to establish. What the "Unitarian Minister's" own views are, I find it difficult to make out. They seem to me in an unfixed and transitional state. They are not those which once prevailed extensively in our denomination, and made a bodily resurrection the only sure and solid ground of belief in a future life. He shrouds them in "mystery," which he considers it "mere folly and presumption to attempt to penetrate" (p. 588). Yet about a real body, attested by eating, drinking, handling, &c., how should there be any mysterious uncertainty? It is a simple fact of daily experience which every one readily comprehends. The plain, straightforward understanding of Dr. Priestley would have found no difficulty in admitting it.

The same writer (p. 585) denies that any direct evidence has ever been given, and questions how it can be given, of uninterrupted personal existence in the invisible state which lies beyond this world. Where, then, I ask is the value of the fact of the resurrection in relation to a future life? If it teach us nothing *directly*, if we are left to get at the truth circuitously, by inference, analogy, elaborate combination and anxious deduction,—

if we can appeal to no fact directly witnessing a communication from the invisible to the visible world,—we are still in the condition of those who have only their ordinary reason to instruct them; and I cannot on this ground understand why your correspondent, and those who think with him, should attach such extreme importance to the special fact of a bodily resurrection, that any questioning of its literal acceptance is considered little less than an upsetting of Christianity itself. Your correspondent treats the supposition of any spiritual evidence of the resurrection as an absurdity. Does he, then, consider Paul's solemn asseveration of having seen the ascended Christ to be a delusion or a falsehood? I have never asserted anything half so offensive to the common belief of Christians as this. Are we to suppose that the Father of our spirits can only communicate with us through our bodies? that his access to us through our souls is impassably closed up? that He can give us no intimation of that spiritual life which is laid up for us with Christ in Him, but by the revival of functions which are appropriate to this terrestrial existence alone, and do not of themselves point beyond it? Such reasoning, if I rightly apprehend its tendency, excludes all revelation of spiritual realities to the soul as an impossibility. Here we are in the body, and we can only know what the body is capable of transmitting to us. This idea has taken such a hold of some minds that they confound all spiritual manifestation with imposition. Speaking of the theory that the evidence of the resurrection was not bodily but spiritual, the Unitarian Layman quotes with evident approval the observation of a friend: "In other words, he said, the advocates of this theory impute to the Almighty the attempt to impose upon mankind by false appearances;" and he then adds this remark of his own: "I suppose that Ewald and his reviewer consider that it was reserved for their superior penetration, after the lapse of eighteen centuries, to detect the imposition." If I thought the writer really understood the meaning of his own words, I should say, their absurdity was only equalled by their irreverence. These gentlemen undertake to affirm, that any direct communication of spiritual truth to our human consciousness, any unveiling under the illumination of the Divine Spirit of the solemn realities of an invisible world to the inward eye of the soul (and how do they dare to measure all history by their personal experience, and declare such things an impossibility?), is nothing better than a deception practised by the Almighty on his creatures; and that men who, in the earnest search after the religious peace of their own souls, have humbly and seriously found reason to believe the fact, can be regarded in no other light than as detectors by their superior penetration of the divine imposture. It has rarely been my lot to encounter language more uncharitable and, in form at least, more profane than this. Had it occurred, where I do

not believe it would have been admitted, in any of the publications of Mr. Holyoake, all parties would have perceived its indecency, and visited it with the reprobation which it merits. For myself, believing as I do in the existence of a spiritual life beyond the limits of the present phenomenal life, and seeing no reason to doubt that under extraordinary circumstances there may be a transmission of intelligence from the higher to the lower world, I declare, without hesitation (and I believe the declaration consistent with the principles of the truest philosophy), that *on equal evidence* I would recognize with Paul, as an objective reality, the presence of a deceased person from the other world.

I have been charged by your last correspondent with not fully stating the facts on both sides of this question; and I am solemnly exhorted, as a great delinquent in this respect, to "study and imitate" "the calm impartiality of those who have preceded me in the office which I hold," and whose theological conclusions, it is pretty broadly insinuated, I despise (pp. 707 and 717.) The last imputation I have already disposed of, and need not revert to it again. With regard to holding the balance unfairly between conflicting arguments in my teaching, as this is a direct charge on my academic integrity and faithfulness, I shall not descend to reply to it in any other way than by a simple appeal to those who have the means of judging, which the writer has not. In the article in the *National,* I was not writing a dissertation on the resurrection, where the accusation, if just, would have been to the purpose, but had merely to allude in passing to one particular aspect of it. But in point of fact, I have not left out of view any of the recorded appearances of Christ after his resurrection; I have actually assumed them all, as the very subject of discussion—the question simply being how those appearances are to be interpreted, and how the belief in them originated. The writer does not understand the question at issue. I have remarked, that with a few exceptional traits, which we can probably trace to the hardening influence of a later tradition, those appearances possess a character which it is difficult to reconcile with the presence of a human body such as we alone know and understand it. Let us take for an example one of the most fully recorded of these appearances, that which occurred to the two disciples as they walked to Emmaus (Luke xxiv.). In the course of a prolonged conversation, which turned on Christ and which must have brought up his image vividly before them, though (upon the supposition) his bodily.presence was at their side the whole time, and the marks on his hands and feet must have been conspicuous, and though he reasoned with them on the subject of his previous teachings and even upbraided them for their slowness to believe, yet we are told "their eyes were holden that they should not know him." At length in the evening at supper time, when he was breaking bread with them, their eyes were suddenly opened,

and they knew him—when he vanished out of their sight. Now whatever explanation may be given of this narrative, no person reading it for the first time with a mind wholly unprepossessed could, I think, resist the impression that we have here an account of something very different from intercourse through the outward senses. The concluding expression, ἄφαντος ἐγένετο ἀπ' αὐτῶν, would never have been used of the ordinary departure of a human body. A similar character attaches to other descriptions of Christ's re-appearances. The fact that these re-appearances were vouchsafed only to believers, is made light of by your October correspondent; and the Unitarian Layman following him, accuses me of "quietly assuming as a fact what is neither proved nor admitted." I should have thought he must have retained enough of logic from his academic training to know that I cannot be called on to prove a negative. I assumed nothing. I said then, as I say now, that *all* recorded appearances are to believers only. If he or the "Unitarian Minister" can adduce a single instance to the contrary, I will confess myself mistaken. But all the extant evidence that we have is wholly on my side. Had there been a bodily resurrection, I hold it impossible that, familiar as Christ's person must have been to thousands, both friends and enemies, in Jerusalem and in Galilee, and with those unmistakeable marks on the hands and feet, he should not have been frequently recognized, and that if he were recognized by those who were not among his followers, we should have heard nothing of it. Your correspondent for October says, "It is inconceivable to me that during forty days in Galilee, Jesus should have been seen by absolutely none but believers." I agree with him entirely, on the supposition that a body had re-appeared; but I am surprised that a writer of his acuteness should not have seen that in replying in this way to my statement, he was taking for granted the very point in dispute between us, viz., that it was a body. It is easy to assume an authoritative tone and say, "These texts have been explained against Woolston and others often enough." Are we to take the writer's warrant for the sufficiency of these explanations? Let them be produced, and we shall see. No one knows better than the writer, that assertions were made, and reasonings deemed conclusive, in the old deistical controversy which would not stand the test of modern criticism. But we are not left to inference alone from extant data in this matter. One of the most industrious and exact of the New Testament writers, who traced up all his statements to their primitive source, has recorded it as the distinct declaration of an apostle, that Christ's manifestation after his death was limited to a select number of witnesses. I am not conscious of urging this text particularly hard, when I say, that no language can be more express and distinct than what is put into the mouth of Peter (Acts x. 41). It is defined at once negatively and posi-

tively. Christ was made manifest (*ἐμφανῆ γενέσθαι*) "not to all the people" (by which I understand, it was not a promiscuous, general manifestation), "but" (and here to exclude all uncertainty, the parties to whom he was to shew himself are mentioned as specially appointed for the purpose) "to witnesses previously chosen (*προκεχειροτονημένοις*) by God."

The "Unitarian Minister" objects to our taking the statements of Paul as the proper point of departure in this question, and considers it as a "needless, if not wilful, inversion of the natural order of events" (p. 582). These are strong assertions, and ought to be strongly supported. He adds, "I believe the common opinion of our four existing Gospels having been written before the destruction of Jerusalem to be quite beyond reasonable cavil" (p. 583). As this is merely the opinion of an individual writer, unsupported by proof, we may set against it the opinion of men of at least equal learning, who have come to a different conclusion. Where no proofs are adduced, one assertion is as good as another. I do not hesitate to avow my own belief, founded on some inquiry into the subject, that there are wider intervals between the dates of the several Gospels than the foregoing statement admits, and that none of them, in *their actual form*, can be *proved* to have been written anterior to the destruction of Jerusalem. We find no distinct allusion to any of them by name before the second half of the second century; and though they must have existed, and we find clear evidence of their materials, before that time, it seems to me impossible to assign with precision their actual date. Their substantial materials, their record of Christ's sayings and doings, and the spirit animating them, so different from anything in Heathenism and the old Judaism, are, I doubt not, an authentic representation of the belief of the apostolic age; but before those materials were put together in the form in which we now possess them, I cannot feel equally sure, that some later elements of belief may not have been introduced into them; I even think here and there we can discern traces of the fact. But there is another consideration of some weight which the "Unitarian Minister" will be able to appreciate, though it may not be so easy to make it intelligible to those who have not much exercised their minds in inquiries of this description. There is a marked difference of thought and feeling between the several Gospels, implying progressive development in their conception of the facts of Christ's ministry and of the fundamental ideas of his teaching, which cannot be supposed to have taken place except during a very considerable lapse of time. In Matthew we have probably the original Palestinian tradition respecting Jesus. Mark's position in the series I leave undecided. But between the general tone of thought pervading Matthew and belonging to its original Judaic materials, and that which characterizes Luke, written for

a heathen convert, there is a wide and perceptible difference which implies the occurrence of a considerable interval of time. The difference between John and any one of the three earlier Gospels is so marked, that it is hardly possible it could have been written till towards the end of the first century. But with regard to all the greater Epistles of Paul (and I mention these not as excluding the lesser, but merely to confine myself to what is on all hands undisputed), we are not only certain of their genuineness and authenticity, but we can fix within a year or two the date of every one of them. I return, then, unshaken to my original position, that in the writings of Paul we have the oldest, the most direct and the most reliable testimony to the resurrection of Christ—the first clear evidence of that profound conviction of a risen Christ (implying some fact as its cause) which had transformed the mind of the apostle himself, and was introducing a new spiritual vitality into the world. We are justified, I contend, in taking our point of departure in this question from the statements of Paul, and in constructing from the point of view thus given to us, the statements of other writings which, though recording the earthly ministry of Christ, wove together, at a later date and possibly under later influences, into the form in which we now have them, the materials of which they consist. Now what Paul says in 1 Cor. xv. seems to me a cardinal statement in this matter. He speaks distinctly of successive manifestations of Christ—to Simon Peter, to the Twelve, then to five hundred brethren at one time (the majority of them surviving to the time when Paul wrote), again to James, then to all the apostles, lastly to Paul himself. Paul makes no distinction between any of these manifestations. He puts his own seeing of Christ on the same level with that of the other apostles. The very same verb is used in every instance—ὤφθη. How is this to be explained? It ought not to be passed over without notice. Was Paul speaking the truth in this or a falsehood, or labouring under a delusion? He must have known from tradition (ὃ καὶ παρέλαβον) whether the apostles who preceded him had conversed with a body or not. Yet here we find one word, implying one mode of manifestation, applied to appearances, some of which, according to the usual conception of this subject, must have occurred before, and some after the ascension—some in the body, some out of the body. His rising again is considered in this chapter of Corinthians as an anticipation of the general resurrection of the dead—an example, as it were, beforehand of the general destiny of the race. Hence it is argued, that "if there be no resurrection of the dead, then Christ has not risen;" inasmuch as the law under which alone he could rise, would not in that case form a part of the divine economy. In the same sense, he is called the "first fruits of them that have been laid to rest." His rising again was valuable to believers, as an earnest and exemplification

of the higher spiritual life which awaited them. The restoration of his earthly body had no bearing whatever on the only point that was of importance. That would have been a σῶμα τῆς ταπεινώσεως which had no relation to the πολίτευμα ἐν οὐρανοῖς (Philipp. iii. 20, 21). What they needed to behold was the σῶμα τῆς δόξης which their risen Lord wore in heaven, in which he occasionally manifested himself to the eye of faith on earth, and into the likeness of which he would change their earthly bodies at the time of the restitution of all things. The only sense in which the resurrection of Christ can be religiously of value to a dweller on earth, is as the witness of a life beyond the terrestrial life. In that light it is exhibited by Paul.

Your correspondent, the "Unitarian Minister," all but throws overboard, if I rightly understand him, the New Testament statement about the ascension. Yet the ascension is the necessary sequel of a bodily resurrection. I do not see how it can be got rid of. If the mortal body of Jesus was restored full and perfect from the grave, he must either have died once more a natural death, or some such metamorphosis and transition as the ascension must have occurred. An event like the ascension was necessary, on the supposition of a bodily resurrection, to transfer the renewed life on earth to that higher life in heaven which is implied in the effusion of the Spirit on the day of Pentecost, and in the subsequent visions of Stephen and Paul. I do not understand what ground there is for making such a distinction between the resurrection and the ascension—for arguing that everything is clear and self-consistent about the former, everything about the latter impenetrably obscure. Both seem to me to have the same vague, dim and visionary character, and both to be inseparably connected as necessary counterparts of one and the same conception. Starting from the fundamental idea furnished by Paul, I suppose the conception may have arisen in the following way. The manifestations of the risen Jesus were of the kind described in 1 Cor. xv., real and of a living presence, but not conveyed through the outward sense. In the reports handed down by tradition and misapprehended by the grosser mind of the multitude, these spiritual manifestations gradually assumed the form of bodily appearances, especially as the fervour of the primitive faith abated. When Docetic errors began to prevail, which changed the earthly life of Christ into a phantom, the mass of Christians opposed to these fancies had a strong motive, operating perhaps unconsciously, to understand the traditional accounts of Christ's spiritual intercourse with his disciples after his death, in a more outward and corporeal sense, lest they should be used to justify applying to the terrestrial ministry of Christ what was true only of his heavenly life,—doctrinal reaction aiding the development of the idea of a bodily resurrection. When the belief in a bodily resurrection had arisen, that

in an ascension followed as its necessary complement. Both were only different modes, determined by the conceptions of a later generation and from a different point of view, of expressing the same primitive fact, — the passage of Jesus from the earthly to the heavenly life.—I am afraid this attempt to explain the possible origin of the belief in a bodily resurrection may give pain to some excellent persons whom I would gladly not offend. But I do not see why I should conceal my serious persuasion on a serious subject. I am not throwing out a hasty idea. If this subject be looked at fairly and dispassionately on all its sides, it will perhaps be found that the views which I have ventured to suggest, though not without their difficulties, involve on the whole the fewest,—that they are most in harmony with the spiritual character of the Christian religion,—and furnish, to those who sincerely embrace them, the most direct and certain evidence of a future life.

I have occupied, Mr. Editor, a large space in your pages. But the circumstances which obliged me to write, obliged me also to write at some length. If I have seemed occasionally to use strong language in replying to the charges of the "Unitarian Layman," it was called for, and is not, I think, stronger than that previously used towards me. He cannot complain of receiving some of his own coin back again. If he thought my views erroneous or mischievous, he should have met them, like your correspondent for October, with argument, not with oracular assertions; and he should have abstained from mixing up with a critical question, general digressions on personal character which had no proper relation to it. I now quit this controversy, and with it throw off into utter forgetfulness every painful feeling which for the moment it may have excited. I sincerely thank your correspondent, the "Unitarian Layman," for many kind expressions of personal regard and appreciation; and, if I am not wholly mistaken in the person of my anonymous opponent, I beg to assure him that I very cordially return them. I give him full credit for having been actuated by what he deemed a sense of duty. Indeed I see evident traces of a conscientious and upright, though, I think, somewhat prejudiced mind. This mistaken feeling of duty has led him to use language which he may hereafter regret, and to dogmatize on some subjects on which he is imperfectly informed. But the whole thing has now passed, and I shall never revert to it again.

With regard to the particular views which I have attempted to justify in this paper, they whose mental temperament has any affinity with my own, will probably to some extent sympathize with me and adopt them; they whose mind is cast in another mould, will continue to think me in grievous error. It is ever so in the controversies most deeply interesting to the human mind; nor can it be otherwise. To me it is delightfully conso-

latory to reflect, of how little importance, in minds essentially religious, these speculative differences, necessitated by the wants of different intellects, really are. Happily, none of us engaged in this controversy have any doubt of that higher life, so wonderfully attested by the first age of Christian believers, for which this present state of conflict and trial is but a discipline and a preparation. Through a different conception and interpretation of the same facts we arrive at a common result. Riper years and longer experience bring with them at once a deeper faith and a wider charity. Through the shadows of advancing life, the mental eye is turned with an intenser gaze and a firmer trust to that approaching futurity where all our present difficulties will find some unexpected solution, where we shall be made to see more clearly than before the folly of bigotry and the presumption of dogmatism, and find after all that the best fruits of speculation and learning are humility and love.

THE AUTHOR OF THE ARTICLE IN THE NATIONAL.

CORRESPONDENCE.

DR. G. B. WINER AND HIS EXPURGATOR.

SIR,

IN the *Christian Examiner* (Boston, U.S.) of November, 1859, there is an able review of a recent translation by Edward Masson, M.A., of Dr. G. B. Winer's Grammar of the New Testament Diction, 6th edition; from which I commend the following extracts to the notice of your readers, partly for the very valuable criticism which they contain, and partly for the very unwarrantable editorial conduct which they so clearly expose and so justly censure.

"In p. 142 of Mr. Masson's translation occurs the following paragraph: 'In regard to Titus ii. 13, ἐπιφάνειαν τῆς δόξης τοῦ μεγάλου θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, the word σωτῆρος does not appear to me a second predicate of θεοῦ, as if Christ were first styled μέγας θεός, and then σώτηρ. My reasons for taking this view of the passage are grounded on Paul's teaching. The article is omitted before σωτῆρος, as the apposition precedes the proper name: *of the great God and our Saviour Jesus Christ.*' Now what Winer actually says is this: 'I hold, on grounds which lie in the doctrinal teaching of Paul, that σωτῆρος is not a second predicate *together with* θεοῦ, as if Christ were first called ὁ μέγας θεός, and then σωτῆρ. The article is omitted before σωτῆρος, *because this word is made definite by the genitive* ἡμῶν, and because the apposition comes *before* the proper name,' &c. Now by translating the German preposition *neben* 'of,' instead of 'together with,' thus making Winer speak of a second predicate of θεοῦ, Mr. Masson has, in the connection, made simple nonsense of the sentence. For the only question in the case is that which relates to the predicate or predicates of Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ; in other words, the only question in the case is, whether θεοῦ is or is not a predicate of Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. Again, Mr. Masson, by expunging—whether

by design or accident—the clause, 'because this word [σωτῆρος] is made definite by the genitive ἡμῶν,' has taken away by far the most essential part of the sentence; that is, by far the most important reason for the omission of the article before σωτῆρος. If this expurgation stood alone on this page, we should certainly attribute it to accident. But only a few lines below occurs in the German original this sentence: 'So in Jude, verse fourth, two different subjects [namely, δεσπότην and κύριον] may be referred to, since κύριος, being made definite by ἡμῶν, does not need the article to express the meaning, 'Jesus Christ, who is our Lord.'' This whole paragraph relating to the verse in Jude is omitted by Winer's translator, if we may not rather say expurgator.

"Again, on the same page, Mr. Masson has omitted a note of Winer, nineteen lines in length. It relates to Titus ii. 13, and states in substance that, though σωτῆρος ἡμῶν *might* be considered a second predicate with θεοῦ in relation to Jesus Christ if the sense demanded it, yet no grammatical principle *requires* it to be so regarded. On the contrary, he maintains in this note that no usage of the Greek article lies in the way of our understanding 'our Lord Jesus Christ' as another subject or person, distinct from 'the great God.' In this note he also expresses his conviction that the apostle Paul could not, in consistency with his teaching in all his Epistles, have called our Saviour Jesus Christ, the great God. This whole note Mr. Masson has expunged, no notice being given of it.

"This is a specimen (observes the reviewer presently afterwards) of the obstacles with which Unitarians have constantly to contend in the propagation of their faith. The very grammars of the Greek language must be expurgated when they seem to favour the doctrinal views of Unitarians."—"May we not hope that it will soon be acknowledged that Unitarians have grammar and philology on their side, as well as reason and common sense?"

This hope appears to me, Mr. Editor, as well grounded as it is encouraging.

Edgbaston, Dec. 22, 1859. SAMUEL BACHE.

MR. FREEMAN ON SOME OF THE TENDENCIES OF UNITARIAN THEOLOGY.

SIR,

SUCH a subject as Religion, especially the religion of the gospel, should be touched with affectionate and reverential anxiety, yet with the energy, decisiveness and simplicity of which itself is the best occasion and warrant. Unsatisfactory mutual implication in real or supposed error is far too often the result of that awe felt towards divinity, which stultifies itself by default of a healthful sympathy with humanity, and its aching hunger and thirst after truth. Not so did Jesus of Nazareth leave his doctrine as a stone in lieu of bread, or as water sparkling to the eye and stimulating to the outward senses, but questionable for assimilation to sound inner life. As a plain thinker, seeking plain means of nutrition for my mind and heart, I am with others in a difficulty of discernment on a point of long-kept faith.

I confess I am now, with many other watchful friends of religious freedom, becoming half-bewildered, half-beguiled, by the pyrotechnics of theology which at present amuse and amaze, by turns and by fits and starts, the Unitarian denomination. I fear, Sir, that intellectual amusement has a much larger share than moral amazement in this matter,—larger too than the leading minds on either side perhaps consider or conjecture. Else they would the sooner desist from all which speculative minds, within and without the denomination, regard as "a rich treat in heretical skill of fence."

Doubtless there is very much of matter in this controversy which would be fairly categorized as intuitional, emotional, metaphysical, transcendental, progressional, and so forth. Indubitably, all the categories thus indicated, and perhaps a few more, have and must have their proper share in religion generally, in Christianity particularly. But I suspect and suggest that *these* are points correlative to what is ever the grand point, and has now become THE MOOT POINT.

Stated very simply, and rather too nakedly for minds that like truth to be clothed in dense embroidery of rhetoric, the salient point at issue would seem to be something very like this. And I would fain keep the topic as impersonal as possible. Those termed, wrongly or rightly, "of the Old school" urge that belief in miracle, especially in the miracle of Jesus Christ's personal and corporeal resurrection from the dead, *is indispensable* to the soundness and consistency of UNITARIAN, as well as of other, *Christianity;* and that the proper evidence of such miracle is, through eighteen centuries of confirmation, both historically and morally irrefragable. So their judgments and consciences are bound; but they would shrink from the risk of coercing others to this or any belief, and so leave all others, and beg to be left, free in the positive assertion of essential faith.

Those termed "of the New school" appear to demur to the foregone allegations in something like the sense following:—So far so good. But there *may be* proper Unitarian Christianity without a belief in the said miracle of Jesus Christ's resurrection,—nay, even without belief in miracle at all; and, further, the proof of resuscitation in the person of Jesus Christ, or indeed of any miracle whatsoever (even though we for our own parts may be assured of it), is *not* morally and historically "irrefragable."

Observe, neither side is taxed with contending that the proofs of miracle are *unassailable*. But one side avers that, how well or ill soever assailed, the *miraculous* fortress of FAITH remains impregnable; the other side concedes to opponents of its defences that it must now and then surrender at discretion.

These appear, Sir, not only to me, but to numerous bystanders, the distinct points of controversial attitude upon which the conflicting parties have, consciously or unconsciously, placed themselves before their friends, their foes and the public. The moot point between them is MIRACLE as an essential of Unitarian belief. Not forgetting or concealing that there are multitudinous intermediate positions on which the combatants ever and anon find themselves amidst the warmth of contest, I respectfully submit that the theological *Mincio* of Unitarian Christian tactics in this case flows distinctly and directly between the two positions above named. Alike the laity and the ministry that are not

immediately or officially engaged in the necessary strife of creed and Christian essentials of doctrine, look upon this as the vital or mortal stake at issue. Here appears the boundary-line which discriminates the *supernatural* accessaries of evidence as essentials or as non-essentials. Here arises, and will yet arise again and again, the question of theological, as there of political, *Unitarianism* according to the gospel severally accepted and interpreted: Can Italy be ONE till the moot point of essential trust is determined? And can Unitarian Christianity be ONE in basis, purpose and action, both at home and abroad, either as an ecclesiastical or a denominational entity and *identity*, until we can define in unambiguous language what it is as a mode of faith contradistinguished from Trinitarian or Arian or *Ultrarian* opinions on the one hand, and from uninspired, non-miraculous grounds of belief in God and Christ on the other? And let it be noted that INSPIRATION (whether of printing-presses, persons or pens) enters necessarily into the grand question of *miracle*. Once prove or hold that miracles are but legendary accretions upon historic phenomena, or are innocent, ignorant misrepresentations of pure and simple facts which can be philosophically substantiated better without than with *miracles*,—then divine inspiration according to the Scriptures, and especial utterances of prophecy as recorded under Moses and under Jesus, lose fame and name and claim.

The fact remains admitted on all hands that orthodox Christianity cannot be itself *without miracle*, special power of prophecy and inspiration being essential parts of *miraculous* proofs and credentials. The question that comes to be submitted for free and full (perhaps final?) discussion is, Can heterodox Christianity be itself without heartfelt belief in *miracle?* Is Unitarianism *Christian* according to the Scriptures, if it disbelieves miracle, or doubts whether Jesus Christ wrought miracles and himself rose from the dead? It is not for me to pronounce judgment; but, Sir, as I see and feel and think, there is not completely genuine gospel where *disbelief* of Jesus' resurrection is harboured, as also of his supernatural inspiration and that of his apostles John and James, Peter and Paul. But let the oracles declare.

S. C. FREEMAN.

Adelaide House, Highbury New Park, N., Nov. 12, 1859.

A CHURCHMAN ON THE PERSECUTIONS BY HIS CHURCH.

HAS not the Church of England any tale (of the spirit of intolerance) to tell? Was Cranmer free from all taint of connection with the fires of Smithfield? Was the reign of Elizabeth unblotted by any vile and paltry persecutions in which the sacred name of Christ was the password to compass the death of many helpless and innocent men? Was the Star Chamber of Charles I. unpolluted by the mole-like short-sightedness and bigotry of that persecuting prelate, Archbishop Laud, who thought to glorify his Church by maiming and disfiguring his fellow-creatures?—*Sermons by Rev. J. C. M. Bellew.*

CRITICAL NOTICES.

The New Almanacs.

The Almanac is clearly an English want. The word itself is assigned by some etymologists to the Arabic, but others as confidently trace it to a Saxon origin (Almon-aght). Oxford had its Almanac-maker, one John Somer, as early as 1380. The first printed Almanac (Richard Pynson's in 1497) is one of the treasures over which a collector would expatiate with rapture. The "Year Books" go further back. There is one in the Lambeth Library (printed by Richard Tottell) which relates to the year 1344. Notwithstanding restrictions, first from a monopoly granted by James I. to the Stationers' Company, and next from a heavy government tax which existed till 1834, the circulation of Almanacs has always been very great. *Old Moore* used to sell 430,000 copies of his dreary trash. Now Almanacs are for the million, and are sold or even given in numbers beyond the power of estimate. The speculative tradesmen, the large vendor of quack medicines, slop-tailors, struggling newspaper proprietors, all make use of the Almanac as a means of attracting public attention. The abolition of monopoly and direct taxation has certainly led to the improvement of these annual guides to all sorts of useful and useless knowledge. It was said that nothing but monopoly kept the impostures of astrological and other predictions alive. But free trade in Almanacs has not yet put down this nuisance. We must trust to education to do this in the course of a generation or two.

Of the Almanacs for 1860, though last received, we will, as in duty bound, first notice the *Unitarian*. It comes out this year under better editorship than of old, and the improvement is marked. Its careful lists of congregations, ministers and institutions, will make it a necessity to all Unitarians who have transactions and correspondence on a large scale with the members of our religious denomination. A few errors have fallen under our notice in turning over the leaves. Why is "Wilmslow" given as the general designation of the two places at which Rev. John Colston ministers? He resides at Wilmslow, intermediate between Dean Row and Styal, but it is an error to describe either congregation or chapel as of Wilmslow. In the places of education assigned to ministers (pp. 28—30) some inaccuracies have crept in: e.g., Rev. Franklin Baker was not a York student, nor were Rev. John Cropper, Mr. G. P. Hinton, Rev. Henry Green, Rev. Noah Jones, Rev. G. H. Wells, Rev. Charles Wicksteed, indebted to that institution. The Rev. John Kenrick conferred unspeakable obligations on York College as its Classical Tutor, but he was an alumnus of Glasgow and at least one German University. But, on the other hand, York, not Glasgow, may claim the honour of having educated Dr. Hutton and Mr. Richard Shaen. The Rev. William Bowen was a student both at Glasgow and York. Rev. Jacob Brettell is called *John*, and Rev. J. C. Woods is named Rev. J. O. Woods. Rev. B. Carpenter, whose retirement from public duty through ill health all who know his worth must regret, was, we think, a pupil of Wymondly. Of him and others of "ministers not settled with any congregation" (viz., Rev. Charles Berry, Rev. H. H. Piper, Rev. W. Quinn and Rev. Edwin Smith, and perhaps one or two

others), the present address is wrongly given. A faultless annual we are not so unreasonable as to expect, but some of these errors might have been avoided. Eighteen congregations are reported as vacant, and about the same number are supplied by students or lay preachers. We think the enumeration of "Brighton" among the vacant congregations is an error, as, if we are not misinformed, Rev. Mr. Ainslie, formerly an Independent minister of considerable repute in London, is engaged to succeed Rev. J. P. Malleson, whose long-continued, able and gratuitous services at Brighton amply entitle him to honourable mention now that he retires from public duty.

The British and its thoughtful and instructive *Companion* deserve a place of honour in the enumeration of the best Almanacs of the year. To the *Companion*, Mr. Charles Knight contributes an excellent article on "The Necessity for Elementary Instruction in Political Economy." The follies perpetrated during 1859 by our workmen, and the dire miseries they have consequently brought on themselves and their families, give manifest importance to Mr. Knight's suggestions and his careful array of facts. We take the opportunity of directing the attention of the Trustees of Manchester New College to this subject. There was a time when Political Economy had its place in the curriculum of instruction. Our students and young ministers should know something of political economy if they are to take and to keep their rightful place in the discussion of public affairs. They can better spare three months of the metaphysical instruction which now, in the opinion of some of the friends of the College, occupies a disproportionate share of attention, than they can dispense with a knowledge of the results of economical science.—A paper on the National Debt shews how that millstone hanging round the neck of the country has grown from the time of William and Mary from 3 millions to 805 millions in the reign of Victoria. It is a document which shews expressively enough how costly the game of war is. The climax of our debt was reached in 1815. In the forty years of peace that followed, the debt was reduced by 92 millions. The wars that have subsequently broken out have increased the debt by 36 millions. The Necrological Table shews how rapidly our distinguished men are gliding away from us. During the year we have lost Hallam, Prescott, Humboldt, Brunel, Maltby, Nichol and Stephenson. The ages of forty deceased men of distinction are given, and indicate that mental work is not necessarily unfavourable to life, the average age attained being above 72. Of the forty, sixteen only died below 70 years, and nine reached to 80; three reached to 90.

The Illustrated London is wonderfully cheap, when the variety and beauty of its illustrations are considered. Natural history is, in both the text and the plates, a valuable characteristic of this Almanac.

Cassell's Illustrated, with its miserable woodcuts of war scenes in Italy, is cheap enough for its size, but in other respects not much entitled to praise.

"Francis Moore, Physician," still issues his *Vox Stellarum*, but wisely leaves much of the portentous nonsense that used to fill his pages to more modern astrological quacks. But there is still enough and to spare of this trash, mixed, however, with some really practical and useful knowledge.—It is not creditable to the intelligence of our country and age that *Zadkiel* sends forth the thirtieth, and *Raphael* the fortieth issue of

their startling but silly prognostics. The latter is one of the most costly of the Almanacs that strew our table.

The Protestant Dissenters' is also "a Political Annual." But neither in its denominational nor in its political intelligence is it reliable. It affects to give in its Dissenting Directory the places of worship in and around London, but makes no mention of Unitarian places. It affects to give Colleges and Educational Trusts, but makes no mention of Manchester College, University Hall and the Unitarian Home Missionary Board. It professes to give, however, a list of "Unitarian Trusts," but it is a mere copy of the list published a year ago in the Unitarian Almanac, and is now not accurate. The same remark applies to the particulars it affects to give of the Unitarian Association. It grossly blunders in a pretended list of Dissenting Members of Parliament. Mr. Bazley and Mr. Fox will stare to see themselves put into the same religious denomination, and *that* Unitarian. Of Unitarian Members, scarcely half are mentioned. It is clear that the *Protestant Dissenters'* Almanac wants an editor. The insertion of advertisements on the page, and the mingling of devotional thoughts with temporal matters, is not a convenient arrangement. Here our eye lights on pithy sentences on prayer, praise, conscience, &c., and there on "Children's Worm Tablets." The "Evangelical Pulpit" takes its place vis-à-vis to "South African Port," "Keating's Insect-destroying Powder," and similar delicacies.

The Original Baptist, though open to the criticism respecting the incongruous admixture of advertisements with incentives to piety, seems to be a cheap and useful organ of the religious denomination whose name it bears. The biographical sketches of deceased Baptist ministers are a good feature of this Almanac.

The Sunday-School Penny Magazine.

We desire once more to call the attention of our friends to this useful and well-conducted little periodical. It is very judiciously adapted to the taste and comprehension of the class of persons for whose benefit it is published, and at the same time is characterized by a high moral and religious tone, and is both instructive and amusing. The editorship has passed from the hands of Rev. John Wright to Rev. Alfred W. Worthington, of Mansfield, for whom we desire an editorial career as satisfactory as that of his predecessor.

The Holy Spirit: its Nature and Work. By Rev. John Montgomery. Pp. 16. Belfast—Greer.

This is a scriptural and sensible sermon on a subject on which some of our preachers and speakers now-a-days run very wild, forgetting alike scripture and common sense. It was preached before the Remonstrant Synod of Ulster at the time that the fanatical movement called a Revival was at its height. If our English friends who apologize for revivals would think less of their theories on the work of the Spirit and look a little more at facts, they would probably regard the unanimous condemnation of the recent religious ferment by our Irish Unitarian friends as a circumstance well entitled to consideration.

INTELLIGENCE.

CHINA AND ITS PEOPLE.

Sir John Bowring lately read to the Society of Arts an interesting and instructive paper on this subject, from which we take the concluding portion, as reported in the Journal of the Society of Arts. We cannot refrain from adding the remark, that the English nation is much indebted to Sir John Bowring for his able services in China in circumstances of peculiar difficulty. This is, we doubt not, the prevailing impression, notwithstanding the efforts of Tory politicians to blacken the public character of our excellent countryman. Their misrepresentations are put forth in the hope of making political capital for themselves out of what they call the blundering policy of the Government from which he received his instructions.

"The Chinese have a character of industry, to be found not only in no part of the oriental, but, I believe, in no part of the western world. I came back to this country and found a great struggle going on between the masters and the workmen upon the question of reducing ten hours a day of labour to nine, for which the same liberal wages were to be paid. There are hundreds of thousands of Chinese who would be glad to toil 16 hours a day if they could only get paid for it. The Chinese are essentially a people of an industrious, persevering, sober and economical character. I have said that millions of that people leave their own country for other lands, but in every instance it is with the hope of returning to it again. No women are allowed to accompany them out of the country; such is their unfortunate condition; for so stringent is the law in China as to the exit of women, that it would not protect the clan from the vengeance of its neighbours if they consented that any of its females should abandon the land of their fathers. I was myself applied to by one of the most opulent Chinamen of Java, who would have been willing to have paid £30,000 or £40,000 to have obtained permission for his young wife to join him there. I did my best to augment the domestic felicity of the parties, but I failed. That is only one of many similar instances in which I have been applied to; but it is impossible, by any pecuniary inducement, to obtain the consent of the clan to the departure of a single Chinese woman out of the country.

"That reverence for ancestors — that desire of being interred amongst the shades of their progenitors, is so universal, that we have sometimes had in Hong-Kong an arrival of vessels, not charged with human bones, but laden with coffins of Chinese, sent from California and Australia, to be buried in the locality where reposed the remains of their progenitors. I took some pains to ascertain how long the Chinese ordinarily lived in foreign countries, and I found that, upon an average, in five years they were enabled to return with savings amounting to about 200 dollars. I visited the island of Banca, where the whole working of the mines is in the hands of the Chinese; and the governor of the place informed me that every year 5000 of the Chinese arrived to replace the same number who left, and who, in the space of time I have mentioned, had acquired a little independence, returned to their country, and purchased land with the money. I do not know whether I have mentioned the fact that in this vast population of China there are not more than 500 or 600 different clans; and that although it may be that very few labouring men in England can tell the names of their grandfathers, there is scarcely a man in China, however low his position, who cannot trace back his pedigree for many generations. This leads me to mention a singular usage which prevails in the nobility of China,—they reckon upwards, that is to say, if a man distinguishes himself in his youth, and is made a duke, his father would be a marquis, his grandfather an earl, and his great-grandfather a baron, and so on as far as they could follow his history. The theory of that is, that they do not know what a man's children may be, but they know what his forefathers have been, and the state is quite safe in conferring honours upon the deserving and those who trained them.

"With reference to education in China, the competitive system universally exists. It is intended that no man shall hold office who has not undergone a previous examination, and who has not worked his way through the different halls to a certain literary position. There is no distinction in this respect between rich and poor, and some of the most eminent men in that country have risen from very low origins. Commissioner Lin, whose name is so familiar to you all, was a maker of artificial flowers in his boyhood, as his father was before him. The present head of the Han Lin College, which is the highest of university establishments, was the son of a humble shopkeeper in Ningpo. He was brought up and educated in a mean street,

where his father kept a small stationer's shop. He was very successful in the different grades of examination; he obtained the various degrees which are accessible to the Chinese; he reached the Han Lin College, and afterwards became its president. I happen to know something of the honours done to his family. His father, mother and grandmother received the felicitations of the whole nobility, dignitaries and great functionaries of the district, at the honour attained by their son. You must suppose the small number who attain to that degree of eminence, when I mention the fact that in the province of Kwangtung there are 20,000,000 of inhabitants, and that there, after the various examinations are gone through, the number who go to Canton, when the literary examiner comes there once in three years, to be competitors in the triennial examinations, varies from 7000 to 9000. Amongst these are young children and old men. There are cases of men 70 or 80 years of age, who have been struggling all through their life to obtain some public appointment, who go into the examinations and perish under the effort; for there is scarcely an examination at Canton in which several of the students do not die from the extreme excitement and exertion. Of these thousands of competitors only 72 can be selected for the honours awarded.

"The misfortune of China is that she is so stationary. If her educational machinery were fed with proper knowledge, it would make China not only one of the most progressive, but one of the most influential countries in the world. But unfortunately, in China, every man looks to the past: he finds no wisdom but in the days gone by. He swears by his ancestors. You may discuss with a Chinese the absurdity of his astronomical system, and he will argue by saying—'You people of the West are a very absurd people. You talk about the earth moving round the sun, when your common sense should convince you, when you walk out in the morning, that the sun rises in the east and goes down in the west; and yet you are perverse enough to say that the sun stands still and the earth moves round it.' You employ a series of reasonings against his theory; you prove that the same results must happen if the earth moves round the sun as are produced, in his idea, by the sun's moving round the earth; and you urge that there are many things which are not explicable under his theory, and the answer you get is, 'But the sages say that the sun moves round the earth;' and in that way you are dumb-foundered.

"Looking into the early history of China, I find that 4000 years ago the art of draining was thoroughly understood, that mountains were levelled, that valleys were raised, and that agriculture was carried on in a state of perfection, beyond which it has not progressed a step. I find that 2200 years before Christ, the Chinese people were clad in silk; and there is a very ancient proverb which says it is an opprobrium to a man who, having reached the age of fifty, does not possess a silk garment. I lately stumbled upon a passage in a history of the second century, in which I found a description of the manufacture of paper in all its detail, from rags reduced to pulp, and which, by pressure, were made to give a paper upon which the Chinese were in the habit of writing, while it is notorious that in Europe the manufacture of paper was contemporaneous with the invention of printing, and, perhaps, more important than the invention of printing itself in the advancement of civilization. Many of the discoveries which are modern in Europe are ancient in China. It is impossible to say when the Chinese had *not* the printing art. The mariner's compass, it is notorious, was possessed by them hundreds and hundreds of years before we had any knowledge of it. There is a description even of iron boats and rotatory paddles at a remote period. Every one knows of what antiquity is their beautiful porcelain. So far from progression, I am sorry to say that these arts are in a state of decadence in China, and the value of porcelain is now estimated by its age. In consequence of some porcelain having been found either in the Pyramids or in the ruins adjacent to them, it was maintained that there must have been intercourse between China and Egypt, and that these, bearing as they do undoubtedly Chinese inscriptions, and being filled with cosmetics or perfumes, or with the valuable produce of the East, contained evidence of the existence not only of the Chinese language three or four thousand years ago, but of intimate relations between India and China. The fact led to investigation, and we were enabled to trace in the poets of China every inscription that was found upon these curious porcelain jars; and this shewed that they could not have had an earlier existence than the period at which these poets lived, which was between the eighth and the tenth centuries, — certainly a very curious and not uninteresting fact.

"While I feel how much backwardness there is in China, and that in many matters there is a great deal to learn, I know that we might communicate to them much very valuable knowledge. The only in-

stance in which, so far as I know, they have generally adopted the improvements of the West, is in the general use of fire-engines, which are found in many of the principal cities in China, and which are worked with very great activity and dexterity. China, I think, might teach us something in other matters. In a collection that I made for the town of Sheffield, it was discovered that they had the art, I believe wholly unknown in Europe, of hardening brass to the consistency of steel; and there are brass instruments made in China at this moment of exceeding delicacy, that have all the power which we give to steel. I think also that something is to be learnt in the chemical field of inquiry. Many of the colours of China are very superior to those of Europe. There is one colour which has led to some curious investigations, namely, a perfect vegetable green. They have a green indigo, which is a permanent colour. Now I believe up to the present time we have never been able to make a green which will resist all the changes of temperature and climate. I have suggested, on two or three occasions, when I have had the opportunity of giving advice, that it is exceedingly important, now that China is likely to be opened to European inquiries, that intelligent persons should be sent there, in order to see whether, from the experience of these forty centuries, something might not be gathered up that is of practical value. Intercourse may lead to the removal of many of their prejudices, but without that intercourse it is impossible to alter the stereotyped character of the Chinese. They treat us with disdain, and often with perfidy; but they are all educated under the idea that we are no better than 'barbarians,' and that we ought to be dealt with as if we were wild beasts. Such are the teachings of their philosophers, who represent that the world is divided into two great portions, that its centre is under the canopy of Heaven—the ordinary name which they give to their country—all civilization being under this canopy, and that besides this there is the barbarism which is beyond. We represent that barbarism; and in discussing the matter with the Chinese, they say, 'You are great fighters; you have attended to the art of war, and we have not; but you have no civilization; you have no language that is intelligible. It is true, you are taught to write; but then we see a man who comes from a nation of three or four millions of people, and on the other side of the water there is another nation of three or four millions, and the writing of the man on one side of the river is given to a man on the other side of the river, and he cannot make out a word of it.' They say, 'We are three or four hundred millions of people, who cannot, indeed, understand one another's talk, but everybody understands what everybody writes.' I never found a Chinaman embarrassed when he met a man from a distant province, for though their spoken idioms are different, their written signs are identical. Failing to be understood in speech, the Chinaman makes a mark on his hand, and he is understood immediately. The Chinese often taunt us with the imperfection of our education and the narrow scope of our language, and in this respect deem us inferior to the natives of Japan, Corea or Siam, who can read the Chinese character."

UNITARIANISM IN ADELAIDE, SOUTH AUSTRALIA.

The fourth annual meeting of the members of the Unitarian Christian church in this colony was held in their place of worship in Wakefield Street, on Tuesday evening, the 4th inst., A. Hardy, Esq., in the chair. The Treasurer's accounts shewed their funds to be in a flourishing state, and by a lengthy report of the Committee of Management it appeared that great unanimity had existed in the congregation during the past year, and that though their number was still small, it was on the increase, and that as their opinions and the principles they advocated became better known, they were beginning to excite the sympathy and respect of a great portion of the liberal Christians of other denominations. The proceedings were enlivened by the choir, which executed in a very masterly style several pieces of sacred music. Their pastor, the Rev. J. C. Woods, B.A., delivered a very eloquent address on 'The Difficulties, Defects, Encouragements and Duties of Unitarian Christians in sustaining their Relation to a True Theology, and a high Religious Life.' He descanted at some length on the difficulties and defects arising necessarily from his isolated position, but he was encouraged by his own settled conviction, supported by the best popular literature of the present day, that a more liberal spirit with regard to religious matters was beginning to manifest itself. He quoted from the *Press*, an Evangelical newspaper, an article confirmatory of his statement, and remarked that an immense amount of injury had resulted to Christianity from the too literal interpretation of the Scriptures. He exhorted his hearers to imbibe their spirit, and remarked that the question of literal interpretation in geology, for example, had

been long since settled on the minds of thinking men of all classes, who pointed to the truths written on the rocks by the finger of Almighty God as their guide. The Rev. gentleman concluded his address (which was listened to with marked attention) by impressing upon his hearers the advantages that would accrue to them, both here and hereafter, by following the precepts and example of Jesus Christ, and assured them that nothing would prove so well the efficacy of their faith as the purity of their lives. The Hon. C. Davies, Hon. H. Ayers, Mr. W. Kay, and several other members, addressed the meeting on matters connected with the church and with the general principles and prospects of Christian Unitarians; and the company separated evidently well pleased with the evening's instructive entertainment.

The above is taken from the "Christian Advocate," published at Adelaide, Oct. 15, 1859. The same paper contains several articles that shew the working of Unitarian arguments on the religious mind of Australia. Defences of our opinions appear in the pages of this periodical from the pen of laymen. We have also lately received proofs of the fidelity of our Unitarian brother, Rev. J. C. Woods, who is set for the defence of the gospel at our antipodes, in two well-argued pamphlets, the first a lecture on the "Divinity of Christ," in reply to a pamphlet bearing that title; the second, entitled "Unitarian Christianity scriptural as well as reasonable."

UPPER BROOK-STREET CHAPEL, MANCHESTER.

On Sunday, Dec. 18th, a meeting of the congregation was held in the chapel after morning service, for the purpose of considering the passing of a valedictory resolution on the occasion of the departure of the Rev. J. H. Hutton, whose resignation was accepted a few months ago.

The meeting was very numerously attended, nearly every member of the congregation remaining. After some preliminary statements, a resolution was moved and carried unanimously to the effect, that the members of the congregation desired, before the Rev. J. H. Hutton had actually left them, to express to him their grateful sense of the faithfulness and devotion of his pastorate amongst them; to assure him that, admiring and honouring the courage of his avowal of the change, which had separated him from them, in his position with regard to that spiritual life which they had learned from him more anxiously to desire, they heartily sympathized with him in all his sacrifices for conscience' sake; and, with earnest wishes and prayers for the health and happiness of himself and those dearest to him, affectionately bade him farewell and God-speed; and they requested his acceptance of their parting gift as a small token of personal regard.

It was stated that this gift amounted to something over £315; and the meeting requested that it should be handed to the Rev. gentleman by a deputation, along with a copy of the resolution, signed by the Chairman in the name of the society.

SOIREE AT CHESTERFIELD.

The annual social meeting of the congregation assembling in the Elder-Yard Unitarian chapel, Chesterfield, was held in the large Sunday-school-room on Tuesday evening, Dec. 6th. In addition to the usual display of evergreens and flowers, the room was tastefully decorated with a number of paintings and engravings lent for the occasion. On the wall at the head of the room was the recently published portrait of the late Rev. Charles Wellbeloved, and near it that of the late Christopher Rawdon, Esq. Upwards of 250 adults sat down to tea, and the number was afterwards increased to about 300. Several ministers of the neighbouring towns and a party of friends from Sheffield were present.

Rev. Francis Bishop, minister of the congregation, was called to the chair, and addressed the meeting in a hopeful and encouraging strain on the state of the congregation and its various institutions.

Rev. A. W. Worthington, B.A., of Mansfield, gave a long and able address on Christian union.

Mr. Thomas Woodhead, an old and much-respected member of the congregation, spoke of the great responsibilities and duties of lay-members of Christian churches.

Rev. J. J. Bishop, B.A., of Loughborough, spoke on the inestimable value and the sufficiency of the Scriptures, when rightly used, as a guide to faith.

Rev. R. L. Lloyd, of Belper, gave an address on Home Missions.

Rev. T. R. Elliott, of Ilkeston, recently a Baptist minister at Market Harborough, spoke on the duty and blessedness of obeying conscience.

Mr. Goodwin made some remarks on the following sentiment: "Long continuance and increasing usefulness to our congregational social meetings; may they more and more conduce to cherish feelings of Christian love among ourselves and towards all our brethren of mankind."

Rev. Brooke Herford, of Sheffield, spoke eloquently and earnestly on the duty incumbent on all bodies of Christians to work zealously for the diffusion of a high tone of religious thought and action among the people.

Many pieces of music were sung by the choir in the course of the evening, and at about ten o'clock the proceedings, which had lasted five hours, were brought to a close by singing and prayer.

CONGREGATIONAL SOCIAL MEETING.

On the evening of Tuesday, Dec. 20th, the members of the Unitarian church, Hackney, held their second annual social meeting. The school-room was on this occasion tastefully fitted up, and presented the combinations of a well-furnished drawing-room, a picture gallery and a museum. The walls were decorated with pictures and engravings. Amongst the former was a fine painting by Mr. Chester Earles of the group at the foot of the Cross; amongst the former were the portraits of many Unitarian worthies, not without distinguished men of other churches. The tables were covered with works of art, objects of vertù, &c. The gathering of friends, notwithstanding the intensity of the cold, was sufficiently large to fill the room. The principal amusement of the evening was music, vocal and instrumental, the latter by Mrs. Hale, the accomplished organist and conductress of the choir. The ladies and gentlemen of the congregation who compose the choir gave a series of beautiful glees, madrigals and songs. All the forms of a public meeting were avoided, except during a few minutes, when the chair was taken by the pastor of the church, who spoke a few sentences expressive of his feelings towards Mr. J. E. Clennell (the indefatigable treasurer of the congregation) and his lady, by whom all the arrangements for the meeting had been made. Mr. Venning then addressing Mr. Clennell, congratulated him on the happy and prosperous state of the congregation, for which they were greatly indebted to his admirable conduct as the principal secular officer of the church. They had been brought in safety through a period of great difficulty and anxiety. The congregation, in token of their appreciation of Mr. Clennell's services, now through him (Mr. Venning) desired his acceptance of a gold chronometer watch. Mr. D. A. Gibbs seconded Mr. Venning's remarks in a brief and cordial address. Mr. Clennell acknowledged the gift in a very feeling manner, and afterwards spoke in terms of affectionate appreciation of the pastor of their church. Refreshments were served during the evening in one of the lower school-rooms. A pleasant feature of the meeting was the mingling of young and old (for there were many of the children of the flock), and also the happy union of the several classes of which the congregation is composed. Good taste and kindness ruled in all the intercourses of the evening, and so happy was the celebration that it was nearly midnight before the last groups of friends left the rooms.—We are glad to hear also of social meetings of the Essex-Street and Kentish-Town congregations.

RAGGED SCHOOLS AND THE PROPOSED "REVIVAL."

We observe, not without regret, that an attempt is about to be made to get up the hot steam of the Ulster Revival in connection with the Ragged Schools of the metropolis. At meetings of the Ragged School delegates, held on Nov. 16 and Nov. 30, it was determined to get up an aggregate meeting of all the Ragged School teachers of London, "for the purpose of calling their prayerful attention to the revival of religion." In conformity with this resolution, the Committee of the Ragged School Union have called a meeting to be held in St. Martin's Hall, Long Acre, on Thursday, Jan. 5. It is then proposed to set to work the machinery, so well understood by religious agitators, for producing that disordered state of mind and feeling which is so ill described by the terms "Revival of Religion." Religion, we believe, has nothing to do with the noise and tumultuous excitement of such artificial explosions of sound and feeling. But never was a scheme less promising of useful results than this of enticing the poor and neglected little children of the streets and alleys of the metropolis to join in the wild extravagances of the so-called Revival. That some of the children will be terrified is probable enough; that others will laugh at the whole thing is not unlikely; but that respect for religion, or a better understanding of the duties they owe to God and man, will result from this scheme, we cannot believe. On the other hand, we are not without apprehension of direct evils from this attempt to introduce the fanaticism lately prevalent in Ulster into these institutions of charity. Judicious friends, both in and out of the church, will be alarmed, and may drop their subscriptions; and at all events the attention and labour of the teachers who are drawn into the vortex of the stream will be diverted from their useful duties to take their part in a scheme of more than doubtful good. The second week in January is

the time fixed for the attempt to work on the nerves of the London public. The teachers and officers of Ragged Schools are invited at that time to attend a series of eight Revival meetings, to be held chiefly on successive evenings in various places in the city and other metropolitan districts. This extension of the Revival agitation is in part the consequence of the want of courage of religious men in withstanding what they know to be evil, or what they do not know to be good. It is an ill sign that, for the first time in its history, English Unitarianism has declined to give an unanimous rebuke to this outbreak of disordered zeal. Some persons amongst us seem flattered by the approving notice of Unitarians recently taken by orthodox critics. We would warn them to distrust these gifts. They cannot by an abandonment of a rational position really conciliate any considerable portion of that which calls itself the religious world, but they may put back the clock of religious reformation, and deprive us, as a religious denomination, of the respect and confidence of thoughtful and moderate men of all parties.

REFORM OF THE BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER.

Lord Ebury's efforts to form and combine a sound and strong public opinion on this subject, seems to be alarming zealous Churchmen, both high and low, and a manifesto is now receiving the signatures of mulitudinous Puseyite and Evangelical clergymen, denouncing the movement of Lord Ebury and his supporters as pregnant with danger to the Church. Lord Ebury informs the readers of the *Times* (Dec. 27), that he has been likened by a clerical correspondent of the *Guardian* to Ahab. He also publishes a letter from a Shropshire clergyman (Rev. Daniel Nihil, rector of Fitz), who shews that many bishops and clergymen disapprove of some things contained in the Book of Common Prayer, and proceeds to say, "The Act of Uniformity imposes a solemn declaration, in the nature of an oath, upon every clergyman that he does from his heart fully assent and consent, not to the general excellence of the compilation, but to 'all and everything therein contained and prescribed,' including of necessity, every inaccuracy, inconsistency and blemish." He asserts that this is to many conscientious clergymen a heavy burthen, and expresses his wonder at the manifesto now being circulated which seeks to retain the book with all its faults. "If this be right," he adds, "in the sight of God, judge ye. I profess that it shocks my sense of truth, of candour and of consistency." Until clergymen who think this dare to carry their protest into action, and quit a Church which thus tyrannically extorts a confession of faith in inconsistency and errors, there will be little disposition in the English Hierarchy to grant the demanded reforms.

SUCCESSFUL RESISTANCE TO INTENDED ORTHODOX SPOLIATION IN THE LAW COURTS OF AMERICA.

We have for several numbers wished to find space for the following interesting particulars, which we extract from the *Boston Christian Examiner* for September, 1859. We rejoice that the bigots in America have been less successful than were the relators in the Hewley suit in this country.

"The highest court of New Hampshire has just made a very interesting decision. Almost forty years since, the Rev. (now Dr.) L. W. Leonard took the pastoral charge of the only church and society in Dublin, under the shadow of the Monadnock, then a place of far humbler pretensions than now. His settlement was an era in the cause of common-school education, to which he gave himself with a special zeal. It was shewn by the preparation of several popular treatises or textbooks in its aid; by a steady and vigilant personal supervision of the teachers and the taught in the districts of his cure; by creating, in fact (since in that day the name was hardly known), a Sabbath-school library, whose spreading fame made it the prototype of institutions of the sort, and the number of whose volumes distanced everything of the kind near or far. The much more than average intelligence of Dublin was conceded on all sides, and became a sort of proverb. Dr. Leonard was the successor of a gentleman who was unmarried, not dependent on his salary alone, while his wants, naturally enough, were very circumscribed. The end of his ministry found him, therefore, in easy, one might almost say, for a retired country pastor, affluent circumstances; his property then rating at five to six thousand dollars. His affections were wrapt up in those for whom he laboured; there were none, by legal title or the sentiment of society to divert his bounty elsewhere; and the Congregational Society became, almost as a thing of course, his only legatee. For very many years Dr. Leonard built up in the faith and order of the Gospel an undivided township. But in our age, and especially in this land, who expects such a condition to be enduring?

The wonder now is at the rare examples, of which that spoken of was one, of its lengthened date. Discontent based on doctrinal grounds made entrance at last; though it is past all doubt that their unity would have held unbroken much longer, if their convictions and sense of duty had been left in their own keeping. But those faithful overseers of a man's flock, his brethren around, are seldom wanting to their supposed duty in the case; and here, as elsewhere, those who had been taught they were aggrieved, were allowed no rest till they found it in secession and a new altar. But their numbers were few; their fortunes certainly at no time bright; and the pulpit changed its incumbent with a most discouraging frequency. All at once a happy remedy to meet the exigency, and revive the dying-out light in this candlestick of true gold, was started by somebody,—by whom we know not, but where that credit rests, should by all means be traced out. The bequest of which we have spoken had been made to 'the Congregational Society of the place;' and now the quite original idea was, to dispute the title of the mother society to be styled 'Congregational' at all. Who could have encouraged these hopes, that were (or rather should have been) competent to advise, remains in the dark; but the hopes themselves waxed stronger, till they issued in the final appeal—to the law. The trial came on last winter, and before a full bench: the hearing filled many days; and seriously, the plea most strenuously insisted upon for the transfer of the property to the new claimants was, that the keepers of it did not accept the Assembly's Catechism! Certain points technically legal, and which waited for a law term to be fully considered, deferred the final decision almost to the month of July, now just passed. It was the unanimous judgment of the court, that the plaintiffs had wholly failed to establish their position; and we ought to add, that four of the five judges were kindred in theological relations with those whom they thus dismissed. The Chief Justice incidentally spoke of himself as a member of the old (orthodox) church at Concord (Dr. Bouton's).

"The documents comprising this case are just published, and their extent causes one to break out in wonder over the subtilties of a science, by which a proposition, to common view so simple, can become so complicated. The opinion of the presiding judge took up three hours in the delivery. The testimony of the Rev. Dr. Lamson, of Dedham, whose ministerial experience, on its very threshold, was such as to be fruitful of questions pertinent to the point in hand, kept him on the stand the larger part of a week, inflicting on the outer man what, in homely dialect, is often called a *siege*.

"The documents of the Dublin case shew how distressfully earnest the counsel for the plaintiffs were to make out that it was never conceived with us to have the radical meaning of Independent, so wisely preferred in the mother country by those in whose fellowship they gloried. Early authorities to this effect are paraded and lengthened out; and even, one is ashamed to say, some of the present time; for example, Professor Upham, of Brunswick. It would be descending to bandy words in such an argument. All this unwearied painstaking but serves to shew how little, with the large body of those who are most intent to usurp control over the appellation which is the nucleus of this debate, the vital essence of the one thing or the other is to their taste or after their heart; as to which, we reserve a further word to be spoken in the sequel.

"The motive for these endeavours after a monopoly of a denominational name, thus steadily kept in view through long years, and which must be deemed a thing of concert through almost the whole line of a party, is altogether hid from us. Where the dear rights of property are concerned indeed, an explanation is found for almost anything. And yet even in the Dublin question (coming within that category), it is a very partial explanation. The plaintiffs had had no funds wrested from them by the strong arm. The case widely differs, as any one must see, from those of a minority in church, being conjoined with a majority of the parish, constituting, in the successive judgments of the courts, that body the first church, and which was the essence of the Dedham, Princeton and Groton suits in Massachusetts. These last may naturally enough be counted a hard, and, in more than one sense, a trying case. But the claimants in the matter in hand lost nothing which they did not lose by their own act and consent; and now strive to recover, not only their own share of a common good, but the whole. This only will content them. We repeat, then, one cannot but wonder that the zeal of these voluntary New Hampshire confessors was so impetuous, or their simplicity so extreme, as to allow them to have been committed beyond retreat to a lawsuit. That it was a very small society, would seem less a reason for precipitancy than the contrary. We profess to know nothing; but cannot but suspect that those whose friendly offices were at first astir to make this little

flock feel it their solemn duty to secede and build, have added to this obligation by inciting to another step, which has plunged their clients still more deeply in debt. The orthodoxy more nearly round about us, however actively bent in the same direction, is more cunning; conscious that the process of 'continual dropping' on paper or on the stone is the safest way, though it makes a slow approach enough to its object. This has been probably the first lawsuit to deprive Unitarian believers of the Congregational name; the second will not probably come in our time."

STOCKPORT UNITARIAN CHURCH.

For some time past the handsome Unitarian church at Stockport has laboured under a burthen of debt which has to a serious extent cramped its operations. A committee of ladies was, however, formed, by whose untiring exertions the whole of this debt, amounting to £2100, has been at length removed, and on Tuesday, Dec. 20, a congratulatory meeting of the members of the congregation and their friends was held in the school-room connected with the church to celebrate the happy event. Mr. Henry Coppock presided. In his opening address he paid a well-deserved tribute to the exertions of the ladies, and expressed his satisfaction at the connection which the congregation had lately formed with his friend, Rev. A. Creery. His services had been most acceptable, and, he was sure, had given great satisfaction. The Chairman concluded by calling on Mr. Creery to address the meeting, and gave the following as the sentiment upon which he would speak—"The Ladies of this Congregation, through whose successful efforts this congregation has been relieved from a debt which cramped its energies and destroyed its vitality. May the thanks of this meeting, their own approving consciences, and the future prosperity of the church, be a lasting remembrance that they have therein nobly done their duty."

Rev. A. Creery, after some appropriate remarks on behalf of those energetic ladies of the congregation who had by their exertions succeeded in clearing the church from debt, said—When he came to this congregation it was to him delightful to think and to feel that he should breathe the air of liberty, that he had come amongst men whose only desire was to promote freedom of thought in the world. Now, it was no small boast to be able to say they had a church which was free from superstition. Theology, apart from the superstition of the dark ages, was not popular at the present day; but they professed that their church was of such a nature that it could defy even the beams of the mid-day sun. He believed, however, that a brighter and a better day was dawning upon them; he saw now, behind those mountains whose huge forms had so long obscured the rays, beams of light rising, which gave great courage and heart to hope for better things. In the Established Church at the present day there were numbers of men who were doing the work of illumination, and he delighted to see them there. The powers were now at work which would compel all men ere long to roll the chariot of freedom across the world; but in the mean time it was their duty to raise up beacons of light to point out the way to the land of liberty. In this work the ladies of the congregation had been engaged, and they had nobly succeeded. In after times, when all that were now in that room were gathered to their long homes, and when pure Christianity shall cover the earth as the waters cover the sea—the men of those times would point to that church and say, The men who erected that building were, at all events, true prophets of their time, and by their labours have done a great deal to the spread of religious liberty and truth throughout the world. On behalf of the ladies, he begged leave to thank them for the manner in which they had recognized their services.

Rev. Charles Beard, in speaking to the sentiment of "Home Missionary Endeavour," said—It had been truly observed by Mr. Coppock, that the Unitarian body was beginning to shake off its lethargy with regard to home missionary labour, but it was not for him to inquire into the reasons which had prevented their predecessors from undertaking that labour. It would, however, be very far from true to say that the work had been wholly neglected. There had been many men—amongst whom he might mention his own father—who, throughout the whole of their ministerial course had kept this object steadily in view, and done very good and hard work in the same direction in which they were now proceeding. Those works had not been carried out in former times for want of being seconded by the congregations of Lancashire and Cheshire; but now the attempt was being made to do all in their power in this respect. He was not one of those persons who thought that in times to come all the different sects of religionists would be merged into one, and that Unitarianism, being the strongest of them all, was the one sect which was to govern the world. That was

not the principle upon which they ought to engage in the missionary work. If a man believed that he had in his possession truths which are effectual comforters,—if he thought that these truths relieved him from superstitious fears, and supplied him with the necessary moral and spiritual food for his soul, would bring him into the presence of his God far more surely than any other,—if he felt that he had the spirit of God within him testifying to the truth he possessed,—why then he had no choice; he could not help but go forth and spread that truth. It was with these feelings they should undertake the missionary work, not with any view of producing a particular impression upon other men's minds, but because God had placed within them something precious, which, like all God's gifts, was to be distributed to the whole world. Religious life should produce missionary work; it was not for missionary work to produce religious life. The beginning of their work must be a well-spring within themselves, and the actual expression of that religious life, of that spirit of missionary labour, that was within them. Mr. Beard concluded an able speech by alluding in detail to the mode of operation resorted to in the various chapels of Lancashire and Cheshire employed in the missionary work, and described the division of labour.

Rev. John Gordon spoke on "The prospects of Free Theology in the present day." After congratulating the Unitarians of Stockport on the advantageous circumstances in which they were placed, he said that whatever the prospects of the liberal theology of the present day might be, they ought to make no difference to the discharge of the high religious responsibilities under which they lay. However dark those prospects might be, it ought not to restrain them from the discharge of those duties they were called upon to perform; but ought, on the contrary, to call forth greater carefulness and earnestness on their part. They had a certain truth entrusted to them, which was a most precious possession, and they were bound by every moral and religious feeling, and by every other obligation under which they lay, to do their duty in spreading and upholding this truth, regardless of all consequences, leaving the future entirely in the hands of Him by whose wisdom and goodness they believed all future events would be overruled. The prospects of liberal theology were very favourable; they saw on all sides an advance towards these principles, not merely in their own community, but in almost every religious community on which they could set their eyes. Within the last twenty years a great change in theology had taken place, and that change had not been in any instance towards a narrow theology, but towards a more liberal one. Whatever progress had been made in other religious communities had been in direct opposition to the views of Christianity to which the parties making it had subscribed. In almost every instance the progress of liberal theology had placed the minister and the congregation in opposition, not merely to the opinions they formerly held, but to the opinions with which they were identified by positive bargain to that effect. But the result of this was very disastrous indeed in its bearing upon the religion of the case, but still more so upon its morality. The moral view of this subject was of more importance than the religious one, inasmuch as it was more dangerous. A man who subscribed himself to that which he did not believe, or who continued his subscription since his belief had undergone a change, approached very near to dishonesty. To connect religion with any dishonesty, either in principle or feeling, was to bring the whole question of religion into discredit.—There was an idea prevailing that the administration of religion was entirely entrusted to the parsons. A falser idea than this could not exist, for a minister could do nothing unless he was upheld by the members of his congregation. They must be religious men. Not merely Unitarians—free men, men attached to a liberal theology, but men cultivating in their hearts, their minds, and all their relations to society in general, a true and really religious character. If they proved that Unitarianism made them better men in all the varied relations of life, they might depend upon it they would succeed, and that their body would prosper.

Rev. G. H. Wells spoke on "The Unitarian Church," and Mr. Grinden on "The universality of the Christian spirit." A vote of thanks was passed to the Chairman, and the meeting terminated with singing and prayer.

A MARKED SIGN OF THE TIMES.

The congregation which was founded in Strasburg by Calvin, has just appointed as its pastor the Rev. T. Colani, editor of the very liberal *Nouvelle Revue de Théologie*, author of the truly excellent volume of sermons which Dr. Davidson proposes to translate, and who, more than any other person, may be called the leader of the great religious movement which is Unitarianizing the French Protestant Church, and gradually sapping the foundations of the Catholic Church not in France only, but in neighbouring countries.

OBITUARY.

Oct. 4, at Gloucester, of pulmonary consumption, FANNY, the affectionate wife of Mr. J. Pascoe BLIGH, aged 26 years. Few individuals ever spent life more usefully, or relinquished it more tranquilly, or with the indulgence of brighter hope.

Oct. 28, at Abbey Mead, Tavistock, Mr. JOHN COMMINS, at the advanced age of 84. He was born in Tavistock, where he afterwards spent, with the exception of a few years, the whole period of his earthly lifetime; and long as that was, it was filled with deeds of goodness and marked throughout by an earnest Christian zeal. He was early left an orphan, and brought up under the care of an affectionate uncle. Several of the best years of his life were spent under the tuition of his venerable pastor, the Rev. Theophilus Edwards, afterwards of Exeter. By means of subsequent study and an earnest self-culture, Mr. Commins acquired considerable proficiency as a linguist.

He was originally destined for the medical profession, but in consequence of his extreme sensitiveness was obliged to relinquish it. His sympathies strongly inclined him at one time to entertain serious views of entering the Unitarian Academy, then at Exeter, with the intention of qualifying himself for the Unitarian ministry, to which he was strongly urged by his friend Mr. Kentish; but domestic circumstances prevented his carrying out this object, which he seemed in later years exceedingly to regret. What he had thus failed of attaining himself, he secured for his eldest son, Mr. Joseph Rowe Commins, who passed through the usual course of instruction at Manchester College, York, with much credit; but as he was about to enter upon a most promising ministry at Lincoln, he was mysteriously summoned to a more heavenly ministry on high, having been borne to his final rest at the early age of twenty-three.

But though Mr. Commins was not specially qualified for the Unitarian ministry by a preparatory course of collegiate theological education, yet he possessed all the natural aptitude for it which could be derived from a richly stored and a highly cultivated mind, and, above all, from a heart singularly devout and deeply religious; and he did accordingly conduct the services at the Abbey chapel, Tavistock, for a considerable time when the congregation was not supplied with a settled minister. At all times he was ready, even in the last year of his life, to occupy the pulpit upon any emergency; and for many past years he always read the hymns given out in the course of the services, with a fervour and impressiveness which those who had the privilege of hearing him will not soon forget.

His benevolent exertions were not confined within denominational limits. In conjunction with the Rev. W. Evans, the Rev. E. Atkyns Bray and John Taylor, Esq., of London, he was one of the founders of the Tavistock Public Library, and was latterly admitted a "free member," in acknowledgment of his various services thereto.

For fifty years he was trustee of Watts' Charity, which is a source of considerable benefit to the town. He rejoiced, indeed, in every indication of improvement in his native place, and spared no labour to promote it both materially and socially.

On the 2nd November, his remains were deposited in the family vault in the Dissenting cemetery; he was followed to the grave by a large multitude of people from all denominations, *all* being desirous of paying this tribute of respect to the memory of one so much and so universally esteemed and loved. The funeral service was conducted by the Rev. D. Griffith, minister of the chapel; and on the following Sunday funeral sermons were delivered by the same gentleman to large and deeply attentive congregations. The morning discourse was founded on Psalm cxxvii. 2, "He giveth His beloved sleep;" and among other true and appropriate words spoken, we may record the following. The preacher having dwelt upon the more prominent of the many excellences which distinguished the character of the deceased, said—"In my comparatively brief intercourse with him, what appeared to me to be a more rare and precious characteristic of his spiritual nature than any other was *his habitual nearness to God.* The Divine Spirit seemed to be interfused through his whole being, and one could not speak to him of divine and holy things without feeling that they were *constantly* present to his thought, so *immediate* was his response, *so living and so true* his sympathy. His heart leaped up, as it were, to meet one's own whenever it beat with high and holy sympathies. His eye glistened with a holy joy when one touched upon the infinite love of God, the unsearchable riches of Christ, and the immortal life of the spirit,—themes so near and so dear to his heart. Of him it may indeed be said with truth, 'His delight was in the law of the Lord, and in His law did he meditate day and night.'"

We shall only further add an extract or two from the letters of friends to whom Mr. Commins had been long and intimately known. The following words of sympathy were addressed to the bereaved widow: "I hasten to offer you my sincere sympathy in your *heavy bereavement*. A man of a purer mind and nobler character I never knew, and I am happy to think that his end was so calm and peaceful. He was always supported in his trials by those cheering views of our Heavenly Father and of the mission of His Son which he had imbibed and cherished in his youth. His was indeed the life of a true Christian; and that I may catch a portion of his spirit, and my last end be like his, will be my constant and earnest prayer." The following words are from another pen: "A purer spirit was never called to its Father's presence. His serene yet genial life has left behind it memories that cannot fail to impart somewhat of heavenly influence to those who cherish them. He was a true disciple of his Master. He had caught the finer, womanly tone and temper of the Saviour's spirit, as I have never perhaps seen it embodied in a man's nature, and it surrounded him with an atmosphere that was spiritual and was spiritualizing. He has left on my own heart and memory an image to be cherished till latest life. Too unworldly—if that be a fault—he passed through life with a child's love and tenderness and trust towards the Heavenly Father; and if his were not the more coveted circumstances of worldly prosperity, it was the much more desirable lot of a godly and contented spirit. He has gone to his reward. May those whom he leaves behind, near and dear to him, be imbued with his spirit, and, cherishing it on earth, be fitted to follow him to the higher blessedness of heaven!"

"Tranquil amidst alarms,
Death found him on the field—
A veteran slumbering on his arms,
Beneath his red-cross shield."

D. G.

Dec. 14, at Southampton, of acute bronchitis, aged 36, SARAH, eldest daughter of Mr. Joseph SEATON, of Chatham. She was deeply impressed with the truth and importance of Unitarian views of the gospel, and it was her anxious desire to promote their wider diffusion. Cut off in the prime of life from further active duty, and from the society of friends by whom she was much esteemed, she submitted with entire resignation to the will of her Heavenly Father, and departed in earnest hope of "glory yet to be revealed."

Dec. 3, at Lewes, after a few days' illness, ROSE FAULCONER, eldest daughter of John Edward FULLAGAR, Esq., solicitor, and granddaughter of Rev. J. Fullagar, of Chichester, aged 25.

When Death's dread blasts such flowers blight,
"We walk by faith and not by sight;"
For Hope, blest Hope, to ease our pain,
Assures us they will bloom again.

J. F.

It is with profound regret that we announce the death of Rev. GEORGE HARRIS, at Newcastle, on the morning of Dec. 24. This sad intelligence of the departure of one of our most energetic and successful labourers both in pastoral and missionary work, will be a painful shock to many Unitarians in England, Scotland and Ireland. Of the particulars of his last illness we have heard nothing. His health gave signs a few months ago of giving way under the pressure of his indefatigable labours. At the request of his flock, he sought the restoration of his health in a quiet retreat for three months on the borders of Scotland. He returned a few weeks ago to his home and, as we supposed, to his public duties, when the melancholy tidings of his decease reached us. The funeral obsequies are appointed for the 29th of December, and Rev. R. Brook Aspland is to be the officiating minister then and on the occasion of the funeral sermon. Our future numbers will doubtless be supplied with full particulars of the public services of this eminent man. The Unitarian church can ill bear at the present time the loss of such an able and outspoken minister. May God put it into the hearts of them that remain to *work*, with redoubled energy and perfect faithfulness, *while it is day!*

MARRIAGES.

Oct. 25, at Great George-Street chapel, Liverpool, by Rev. T. Raffles, D.D., LL.D., SAMUEL FRANCIS, eldest son of Samuel STONE, Esq., of Elmfield, Stoneygate, near Leicester, to MARIA, fourth daughter of Charles GILLHAM, Esq., of Liverpool.

Dec. 14, at Upper Brook-Street chapel, Manchester, by Rev. J. H. Hutton, B.A., the Rev. JAMES HARROP, minister of the Hulme Domestic Mission, to HARRIET, second daughter of Mr. John HILL, machinist, of Manchester.